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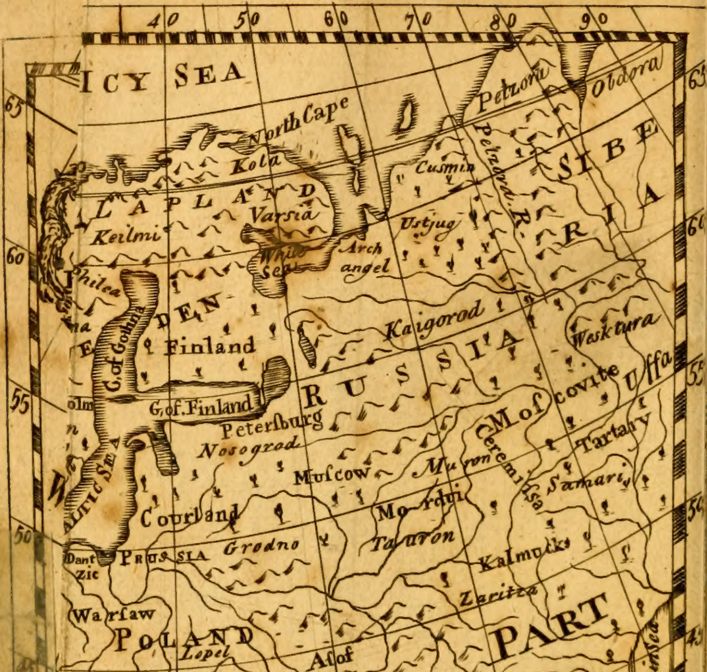
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THE

NAVAL CHRONICLE:

OR,

VOYAGES,

TRAVELS, EXPEDITIONS,

Remarkable EXPLOITS and ATCHIEVEMENTS,
Of the moſt Celebrated
ENGLISH NAVIGATORS,
TRAVELLERS, and SEA-COMMANDERS,

From the Earlieſt Accounts to the End of the
Year 1759;

By whoſe Wiſdom, Conduct, and Intrepidity, the moſt uſeful and important Diſcoveries have been made, and the BRITISH Commerce extended thro' ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA: The many Conqueſts they obtained over the SPANIARDS, FRENCH, and other Nations: The unparalelled Hardſhips and Sufferings they underwent by Shipwreck, Famine, and the Treachery and Cruelty of their Enemies.

WITH

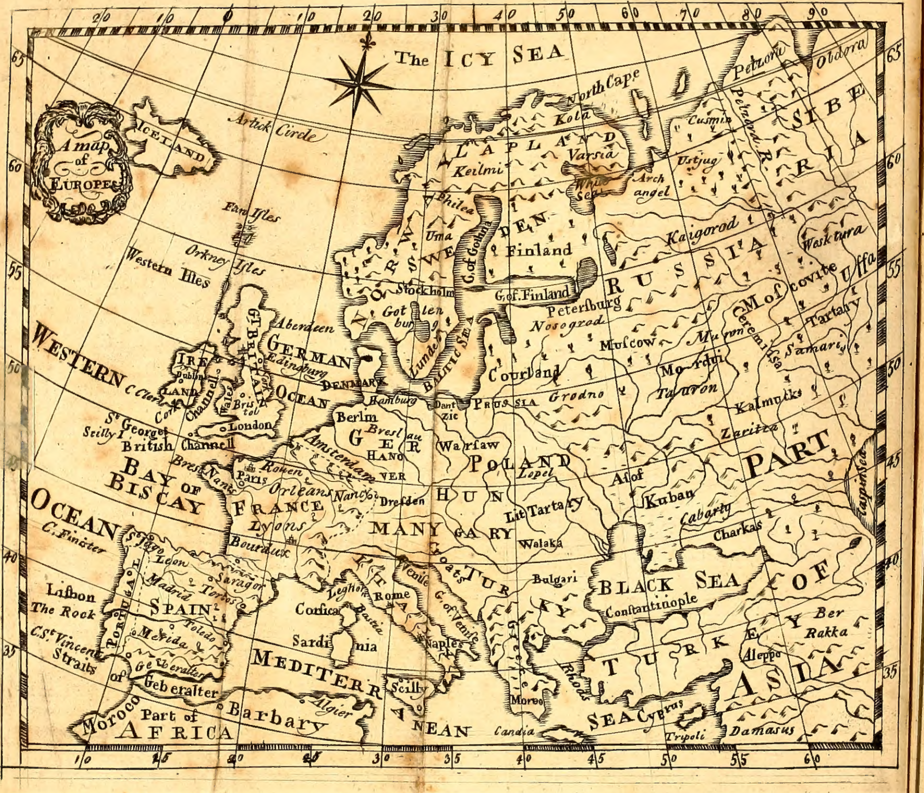
A DESCRIPTION of the Religions, Governments, Cuſtoms, Manners, Commerce, and Natural Hiſtory of the ſeveral Nations they viſited, conquered, or had Dealings with.

INCLUDING

The LIVES of the moſt Eminent BRITISH ADMIRALS and SEAMEN, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Bravery and Love of Liberty.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
Printed for J. FULLER, Bookſeller, at his Lottery-Office, *Newgate-Street*; I. POTTINGER, *Pater-Noſter-Row*; J. COOKE, in *May-Fair*; and J. ROSS, *Middle-Row, Holborn*. M.DCC.LX.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THE

NAVAL CHRONICLE;

OR,

VOYAGES, TRAVELS, &c.

VOL. II.

The Voyage of Captain (afterwards Sir) HENRY MIDDLETON; *being the Second ſet forth by the* Eaſt-India *Company.*

THE Company of Merchant-Adventurers, having obtained a Charter of Queen *Elizabeth* for an excluſive Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* for fifteen Years, made the moſt vigorous Efforts to eſtabliſh a Commerce in that Country; firſt, by ſending out Ships under the Conduct of Captain *Lancaſter*, who ſettled Factories at *Achen* and *Bantam*, (as we have already ſeen) and now, a ſecond Time, a Fleet under the Command of Captain *Henry Middleton*. This Fleet conſiſted of the *Red Dragon* Admiral, the *Hector* Vice-Admiral, the *Aſcenſion*, and the *Suſan*.

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Having taken Leave of the Company, the Ships departed from *Graveſend* the 25th of *March*, 1604, and about the 20th of *December* following, after various Accidents, arrived (the Men being very weak) in *Bantam* Road. There paſſed many Compliments between them and the *Hollanders*, who ſaluted each other with their great Ordnance, and the laſt Day of the Year, the General of the *Dutch* dined aboard the *Dragon*. The Day following, the *Engliſh* General went aſhore with a Letter and Preſent from the King of *England* to the King of *Bantam*; which were, with great Ceremony, received by that young Monarch, who was but thirteen Years of Age, and govern'd by a Protector.

The 16th of the ſaid Month, the General came aboard from *Bantam*, to proceed on his Voyage to the *Moluccas*, ordering Mr. *Sufflet* to go Home in the *Hector*. The 7th of *January* following, 1605, they anchor'd under the Shore of *Veranula*. The People bear a deadly Hatred to the *Portugueze*, and therefore had ſent to the *Hollanders* for Aid; promiſing to become their Subjects if they expelled them. In ſhort, the *Hollanders* preparing to aſſault the Caſtle of *Amboyna*, ſummoned the *Portugueze*, in the Prince of *Orange*'s Name, to deliver it up that Day by two o'Clock; which they refuſed; yet in the End, it was ſurrender'd to them by Compoſition. After which, the Governor of the Town, by Order of the *Dutch*, debarred the *Engliſh* from trading there.

There being, at this Time, a War between the Kings of *Ternata* and *Tydore*, the firſt were aſſiſted by the *Hollanders*, and the latter by the *Portugueze*. Shortly after, the *Engliſh* being under the Iſland of *Tydore*, deſcried two Galleys of *Ternata*, between *Pulocanally* and *Tydore*, in full Sail towards them, waving with a white Flag, that they might ſtrike, and tarry for them. At the ſame

Time, ſeven Galleys of *Tydore*, came rowing betwixt them and the Shore, to aſſault the *Ternatans*. The General ſeeing the Danger they were in, lay by the Lee, to know what the Matter was. In the foremoſt of theſe Galleys, or Coracoras, were the King of *Ternata*, with divers of his Nobles, and three *Dutch* Merchants; who being in great Fear, implored the General, for God's Sake, to ſave them, and the other Coracora, wherein were ſeveral *Hollanders*, from the *Tydorians*, from whom they expected no Mercy, if they were taken. Whereupon the General order'd his Gunner to ſhoot at the *Tydore* Galleys; yet they deſiſted not, but boarded the latter, within Shot of the *Engliſh* Ordnance, and put all in her to the Sword, except three, who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming, and were taken up by the *Engliſh* Boats.

The General being determined to go for *Tydore*, the *Dutch* entreated, that we would not let the King of *Ternate*, and them, fall into the Enemies Hands, from whom he had ſo lately deliver'd them; promiſing, in Return, Mountains of Cloves, and other Commodities at *Ternata* and *Maheu*; but their Performance was Mole-hills; verifying the Proverb, *The Danger eſcaped, the Saint is deceived*. One Thing muſt not be omitted: The King of *Ternata* coming on Board the *Dragon*, trembled exceedingly for Fear. The General ſuppoſing it to be the Effect of Cold, put a black Damaſk Gown, laced with Gold, and lined with unſhorn Velvet, on his Back; which, at his Departure, he had not the Manners to reſtore, but kept it as his own. Now ſee how this Kindneſs was ſhortly after requited! The General arriving at the *Portugueze* Town, in *Tydore*, the Governor of the Fort ſent one *Thomas de Torres*, and others, with a Letter; intimating that the King of *Ternata*, and the *Hollanders*,

landers, reported, that there was nothing but Treaſon and Villainy to be expected at the Hands of the *Engliſh*; but that, for his Part, he conceived a better Opinion of them, believing their Suggeſtions to be nothing but Malice. As a Confirmation of this, the General, not long after, being at *King's Town*, ſent Mr. *Grave* aboard the *Dutch* Admiral, who gave him but a cool Reception, and charged the *Engliſh* with having aſſiſted the *Portugueze* in the laſt Voyage againſt the King of *Ternata* and them, with Ordnance and other Ammunition. This the General refuted by the Teſtimony of ſome *Portugueze*, who were taken Priſoners by them in that Action; then being aſhamed of the Slander, the *Dutchman* affirmed, he had it from a Renegado *Guzarat*, but did not think it to be true.

To complete their Ingratitude, not long after the King of *Ternata* ſeeming to affect the *Engliſh* Nation, the *Dutch* threaten'd him that they would forſake him, and join with his mortal Enemy, the King of *Tydore*, if he ſuffer'd the *Engliſh* either to have a Factory, or any Trade with his Subjects; affirming they were Thieves and Robbers; that he ſhould find them to be no other; and that the King of *Holland* was ſtronger at Sea than all *Europe* beſides; with many ſuch opprobious Speeches againſt the *Engliſh*, and all other Chriſtian Princes. Hence (ſays the Writer of this Voyage) it behoves thoſe Powers to conſider, what this *inſolent*, *frothy* Nation will do, if ever they attain to the Poſſeſſion of the *Eaſt Indies*. To which inſolent Speeches the General replied, *That what* Hollander *ſoever had ſo reported, lied like a Villain; and that he would make his Aſſertion good againſt any one who ſhould give out ſuch a Report: Affirming, that if the Queen of* England *had not taken Pity on them, they would have been*

been utterly ruined by the King of Spain, *and branded for Slaves and Traytors.*

The Author adds, Were the particular Wrongs done by them to the *Engliſh* Nation, made public, they would fill Volumes, and amaze the World. The following Letters ſent by ſome of the Kings of thoſe *Indian* Iſlands to King *James*, are inſerted, to ſhew the Eſteem they had for the *Engliſh* in thoſe Eaſtern Parts.

The King of *Ternata*'s Letter to the King.

I have heard of your Majeſty's Fame, by the great Captain, Sir Francis Drake, *who came in the Time of my Father, about thirty Years ago; by which Captain my Predeceſſor ſent a Ring to the Queen of* England, *as a Token of Remembrance; if the aforeſaid* Drake *had been living, he could have informed your Majeſty of the great Love and Friendſhip between us, he acting in Behalf of the Queen, my Father for him and his Succeſſors; and ever ſince that Captain's Departure, we daily expected his Return, my Father living many Years after; and I after his Death, have lived in the ſame Hope, till I was Father of eleven Children. In which Time I have been informed that the* Engliſh *were Men of bad Diſpoſitions; and that they came not as peaceable Merchants, but to diſpoſſeſs us of our Kingdoms; which by the Coming of the Bearer hereof, we have found to be falſe; a Thing we greatly rejoice at. And after many Years Expectation of ſome* Engliſh *Forces, according to the Promiſe of Captain* Drake, *here arrived certain Ships, which we hoped had been* Engliſh: *But finding them of another Nation, and being out of all Hope of Succour from the* Engliſh, *we were conſtrained to write to the Prince of* Holland, *to crave Aid and Aſſiſtance againſt our antient Enemies, the* Portugueze; *and, according to our*

Requeſt, he hath ſent hither his Forces, which have expelled the Portugueze *out of all the Forts they held at* Amboyna *and* Tydore. *In as much as your Majeſty hath ſent me a moſt kind and friendly Letter, by Captain* Henry Middleton, *the ſame doth not a little rejoice us. And whereas Captain* Henry Middleton *was deſirous to have a Factory here, we were very inclinable thereunto. This the Captain of the* Hollanders *underſtanding, he came to challenge me with a former Promiſe, which I had written to the Prince of* Holland; *that if he would ſend me ſuch Succours, as ſhould expel the* Portugueze *out of theſe Parts, no other Nation ſhould trade there but they: So that we were compelled againſt our Liking to yield to the* Holland *Captain's Requeſt for this Time, for which we crave Pardon of your Highneſs; promiſing, that if any of your Nation repair hither in Time to come, they ſhall be welcome. And altho' the chief Captain of the* Hollanders *doth ſolicit me not to hold any Friendſhip with your Nation, or give Ear to your Highneſs's Letters; yet, for all their Suit, if you pleaſe to ſend here again, you ſhall be welcome. And in Token of our Friendſhip (which we likewiſe deſire of your Majeſty) we have ſent you a ſmall Preſent, a Bahar of Cloves, our Country being poor, and yielding no better Commodity; which we pray your Highneſs to receive in good Part.*

TERNATA.

The King of *Tydore*'s Letter, to his Majeſty of *England.*

This Writing of the King of Tydore *to the King of* England, *is to let your Highneſs underſtand, that the King of* Holland *hath ſent into theſe Parts a Fleet of Ships to join with our antient Enemy the King of* Ternata; *and they, jointly together, have over-ran and*

and ſpoiled Part of our Country, and determined to deſtroy both us and our Subjects. Now, underſtanding by the Bearer hereof, Captain Henry Middleton, *that your Highneſs is in Friendſhip with the King of* Spain, *we deſire your Majeſty that you will take Pity of us, that we may not be deſtroyed by the Kings of* Holland *and* Ternata; *to whom we have offered no Wrong, altho' by forcible Means they ſeek to deprive us of our Kingdom. And as great Kings upon Earth are ordained by God to ſuccour all thoſe who are wrongfully oppreſſed, ſo I apply to your Majeſty for Aſſiſtance againſt my Enemies, not doubting but to find Relief at your Majeſty's Hands; and in Caſe your Majeſty do ſend hither, I humbly entreat it may be Captain* Henry Middleton, *or his Brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your Kingdoms, bleſs you, and all your Councils.*

TYDORE.

The King of *Bantam* to the King of *England.*

A Letter given by your Friend the King of Bantam, *to the King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland; *deſiring God to preſerve your Health, and to exalt you more and more, and all your Councils. And whereas your Majeſty hath ſent a General,* Henry Middleton, *he came to me in Health. I did hear that your Majeſty was come to the Crown of* England, *which doth greatly rejoice my Heart: Now* England *and* Bantam *are both one. I have alſo received a Preſent from your Majeſty; the which I give you many Thanks for. I do ſend your Majeſty two Bezoar Stones, the one weighing fourteen Maſſes, the other, three; and ſo God have you in his Keeping.*

BANTAM.

The two other Ships, the *Hector* and *Suſan*, had got their Lading of Pepper, and were gone away in *February*; and the *Dragon* ſet out to follow them the enſuing *October*.

About the *Cape of Good Hope*, they found the *Hector* in a moſt diſtreſſed Condition, driving up and down the Sea at random, her Men all dead but ten, and her Companion, the *Suſan*, loſt three Months before, and never heard of afterwards. Having refreſhed in the Bay of *Saldanna*, they all three ſet ſail for *England*, and arrived in the *Downs*, *May* 6, 1606.

The Voyage of Sir EDWARD MICHELBURNE, *to* Bantam.

THIS Voyage was performed with two Ships, the *Tyger* of 240 Tons, and the *Tyger's Whelp*, a Pinnace, Sir *Edward Michelburne* going as General; who, tho' a Member of the *Eaſt-India* Company, did not undertake the Voyage on their Account.

The 5th of *December*, 1604, ſetting Sail from *Cowes*, in the *Iſle of Wight*, they came on the 23d, to the Road of *Aratana*, in the Iſle of *Teneriffe*; and on the 14th of *January*, 1605, were troubled with extreme Heat, Lightning, Thunder, and Rain, all the Night. The 16th, they paſſed the Line, ſhaping their Courſe for the Iſle of *Loronnah*, with the Wind at S. S. E.

Three Degrees Southward of the Line, they found incredible Shoals of Fiſh; and with their Hooks, Lines, and Harping Irons, took ſo many Dolphins, Bonitos, and other Fiſh, that the Men could

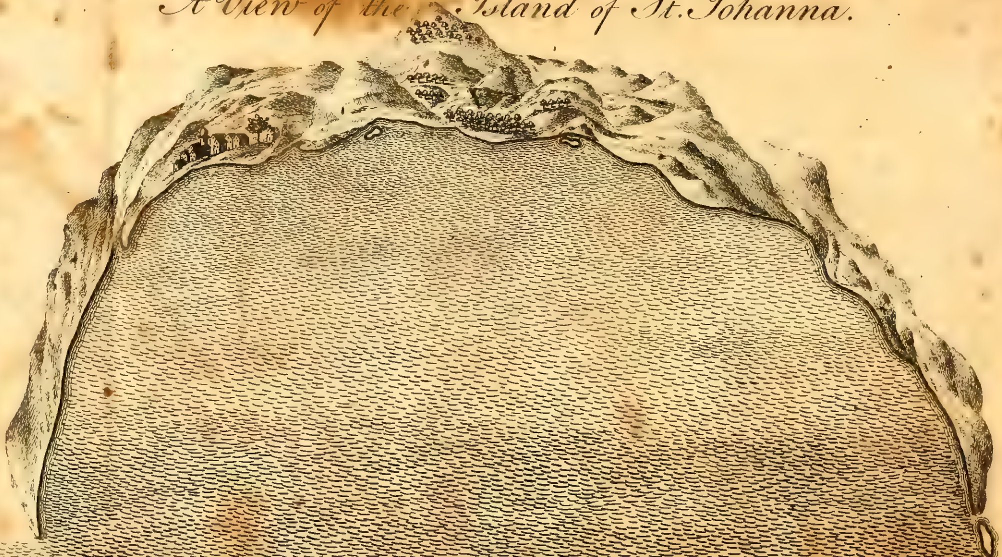
f the Island of St. Johanna.

could not tell what to do with them. They alſo met with large Flights of Fowl, tho' in the main Ocean, called *Peſharaboues*, and *Alcatrazzes*. They caught ſeveral of the former, which like to hover about Ships in the Night, and will perch on a Man's Hand, if he hold it out. The *Alcatrazze* is a Kind of Hawk, that lives by Fiſhing, and preys on the Flying-fiſh; which ſometimes are ſeen in ſuch Numbers together, that, afar off, they ſeem to be a great Flock of Birds.

The 22d, they came to Anchor at the Iſle of *Laronnah*, in four Deg. South; where, going on Shore, their Skiff was over-ſet by the violent Breaking of the Sea; by which Accident, Mr. *Richard Michelburne*, a Relation of the General's, was drowned. The 25th, their Long-boat going to fill ſome Caſks, had the ſame Misfortune, and two more of the Men were drowned. It is very troubleſome to get Wood and Water aboard here, becauſe the Landing is ſo dangerous, that they were forced to pull their Caſk on Shore with Ropes, and ſo back again when filled. A few Days before, a *Dutchman* was worſe ſerved, his Boat and all his Men being daſhed in Pieces againſt the Rocks.

The 26th, the General going on Shore to ſee the Iſland, found nothing but a wild Country, inhabited only by ſix Negros. It was formerly well ſtock'd with Goats and wild Oxen; but they have been deſtroy'd by the *Portugueze* Carracks, that water here in their Way to the *Eaſt-Indies*: Theſe poor Slaves being left to kill and dry Goats againſt their Coming, the *Engliſh* could find but few. Turtle Doves, *Alcatrazzes*, and other Fowl, are in Plenty, which they killed with their Muſkets, and found to be very dainty Meat. Here is alſo Abundance of Maiz, or *Guinea* Wheat, and Cocoa-trees, whereon

A View of the Island of St. Johanna.



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February 12th, being in 7 Deg. 5 Min. South, they had a ſurprizing Phænomenon: The Sea ſparkled in a ſtrange Manner, and appeared as if all in Flames, ſending forth ſuch a Light in the Night, (the Moon being down) that they could ſee to read the ſmalleſt Print.

The 13th, in the Morning, they deſcried an Iſland, or rather Rock, called *Aſcenſion*, in 8 Deg. 30 Min. South. And the 1ſt of *April* ſaw Land, bearing S. S. E. tho' by their Reckoning they were 40 Leagues diſtant; yet, according to the Variation of the Compaſs, they were near the Land, 30 Leagues before they ſaw it. The 2d, they were hard by the Shore, 10 or 12 Leagues to the Northward of the Bay of *Saldanna*; and the 3d, came to a little Iſland, which Captain *Davis* took to be that lying five or ſix Leagues from *Saldanna*. Whereupon the General, deſirous to ſee it, went thither in his Skiff, with only the Maſter's Mate, the Purſer, the Author, and four Men who rowed. But while they were on Shore, a Storm aroſe, and drove the Ship out of Sight for two Days. Finding Abundance of Rabbits and Seals there, they called it *Coney Iſland*. The 8th, they came to an Anchor in the Road of *Saldanna*, and next Day went on Shore.

This Country is ſo well ſtored with Neceſſaries, that perhaps, the like is not to be found in the Poſſeſſion of Savages. It abounds with Oxen and Sheep, (which are kept in great Herds and Flocks as in *England*) wild Dear, Antelopes, Baboons, Foxes, and Hares; alſo with Oſtriches, Cranes, Pelicans, Herons, Geeſe, Ducks, Pheaſants, Partridges, and divers other Sorts of excellent Fowls. It is moſt pleaſantly watered with wholeſome Springs, which deſcending from the Tops of exceeding high Mountains, render the Valleys very fruitful. Here is a Kind of Tree, not much unlike the Bay, but of a far harder Subſtance, that grows cloſe by the Sea Side. The Natives brought them ſo much Cattle, that they carried freſh Beef and Mutton to Sea with them. For a Piece of an old Iron Hoop, not worth Two-pence, they bought a good Bullock; and a Sheep for two or three Horſe-nails, or a Bit of Iron.

The People who inhabit this fine Country, are ſome of the moſt ſavage and beaſtly in the Univerſe. They go naked, except only a Sheep-ſkin on their Shoulders, and a little Flap of a Skin which ſcarce hides their Nakedneſs. While the Ships continued here, they lived upon the Guts and Garbage of the Cattle, which the Sailors threw away. They eat them without waſhing or cleaning them of the Filth: All they did was to cover them over with hot Aſhes, and before they were warm thro', they pulled them out; and after ſhaking them a little in their Hands, eat the Guts, Excrements, and Aſhes, all together. They live upon raw Fleſh, and a certain Kind of Root, which is very plenty here. By the good Refreſhment which they found on Shore (where they continued from the 9th of *April* till the 3d of *May)* the Sailors, who had been weakened by the Voyage, became as healthy and ſtrong as when they firſt put to Sea. The 7th of *May*, they were ten Leagues South of the *Cape of Good Hope*, and in the Night paſſed over the Shoals of Cape *das Aguilhas.*

The 9th, there aroſe a moſt violent Storm, which laſted 48 Hours, and ſeparated their Pinnace, accompanied with Rain, Lightning, Thunder, and often filling the Ship with Water. The *Portugueze* call this Place *the Lion of the Sea*, on Account of theſe Tempeſts, and the Dangers in doubling this Cape. In the Height of the Storm, there appeared in the Night, upon their main-top-maſt Head, a Flame about the Bigneſs of a great Candle; which the *Portugueze* call *Corpo Sancto*, holding it as a divine Token, that the worſt is paſt. Some think it to be a Spirit; others, that it is an Exhalation of moiſt Vapours, engender'd by foul and tempeſtuous Weather. Some affirm, that the Ship is fortunate where it lighteth, and ſhall not be caſt away. It appeared two Nights ſucceſſively; after which they had a fair Wind, and good Weather.

The 24th, being 28 Leagues to the South of the Iſle *de Diego Roiz* (which lies in 19 Deg. 40 Min. South Lat.) they propoſed putting in there; but the Wind increaſing in the Night, they changed their Deſign. About this Iſland they ſaw Abundance of white Birds, having in their Tails but two long Feathers. The Winds were ſo contrary, and the Guſts ſo violent, that they often ſplit their Sails; whilſt the Ship boulting to and again, rather went the Leeward, than advanced, the Wind blowing ſtiff at E. S. E.

The 3d of *June*, ſhaping their Courſe for the Iſland *de Cirne*, they deſcried the Iſle *de Diego Roiz* again, and made to it, deſigning to have waited there for a good Wind: But finding it to be a dangerous Place, on Account of the Rocks and Shoals that lie about it, they durſt not come to an Anchor, but purſued their Courſe for *India*.

The 15th, they had Sight of the Iſles *dos Banbos*, 6 Deg. 37 Min. South, and 109 Deg. of Longitude, being laid too much to the Weſt in moſt Maps. They are five in Number; abounding with Fowl, Fiſh, and Cocoa-nuts, whereof they brought great Store aboard, and found to be excellent Food. On ſearching both the South and Weſt Shore, they could find no good Anchoring: For in ſome Places there was no Ground cloſe under the Shore; and ſuch ſharp Rocks and Shoals in other Places, that they durſt not anchor.

The 19th, they drew near the Iſle of *Diego Gracioſa*, which ſtands in 7 Deg. 30 Min. South Lat. and in 110 Deg. 40 Min. Longitude. This ſeemed a very pleaſant Iſland, and of good Refreſhing, if there be any anchoring Place: But the Wind being bad, and the Tide forcing them to Shore, they durſt not ſtay to ſearch ſufficiently. This Iſland is about 10 or 12 Leagues long, abounding with Birds and Fiſh; and is entirely cover'd with a Wood of Cocoa-trees. The 11th of *July*, they repaſſed the Line, where they were becalmed with extreme Heat, Lightning and Thunder.

The 19th, they deſcried Land, which they took to be a Cluſter of Iſlands, locked in one, lying under the High Land of *Sumatra*. Here the Sea broke with ſuch Violence upon the Shore, that they durſt not land; tho' the People made Fires along the Coaſt, as they thought, to invite them. This Iſland, or Iſlands, is in 2 Deg. North Latitude.

The 25th, they came to an Anchor, by a little Iſland full of Cocoa-trees, which had very few Nuts upon them; ſome however they got, but could find no Water. Three or four People appeared at a Diſtance, who ſeemed to have been left there to gather the Cocoas, and make them ready againſt others ſhould come and fetch them.

The 26th, they caſt Anchor within a League of a great uninhabited Iſland, called *Bata*, in 20 Min. South. It abounds with Woods and Rivers; alſo, with Fiſh, Monkeys, and a Kind of Fowl, ſaid to be that Country Bat. The Author killed one of them, that was bigger than a Hare, and ſhaped like a Squirrel; only from each Side there hung a large Flap of Skin, which in leaping from Tree to Tree, would ſpread like a Pair of Wings, as if he flew with them. They are very nimble, and will leap from Bough to Bough frequently, taking hold only with their Tails. Here they built their Shallop, and for that Reaſon called her the *Bat*.

The 29th, the Author of this Journal walking along the Shore, diſcover'd a Sail under a little Iſland, about four Leagues diſtant; which he was in Hopes was the Pinnace, that had been ſeparated in a Storm. But being ſent by the General next Day, along with Captain *Davis*, to ſee if it was ſo, they found three Barks at an Anchor, whoſe Men made Signs to them to come aboard, and, to allure them, ſaid they had Hens. Some of them underſtood *Portugueze*, but the *Engliſh* being not well provided, anſwer'd, they would go fetch Money, and next Morning return and buy. Accordingly next Morning they did return, better qualify'd to talk to them; but the others had not thought fit to wait for them.

The 4th of *Auguſt* they ſtood for *Priaman*. The 9th, the Shallop was manned, and ſent along the Coaſt, to look for Roaders, and eſpying a Bark, gave her Chace: But when the Crew perceived they could not get away, they came to an Anchor, and in the Boat eſcaped to an Iſland. As the Veſſel was only laden with Cocoas, Oil, Nuts, fine Mats, and the like, they left her; imagining the General would not have been pleaſed with ſo poor a Prize. The 10th and 11th, the Shallop ſtanding cloſe along the main Land, they eſpied eight Praws, riding over againſt a Place called *Tico*, which they made up to in Expectation of finding their Pinnace among them. But altho' ſhe was not there, they were in ſome Hopes ſtill, on being informed, that there was an *Engliſh* Ship at *Priaman*, not above ſix Leagues off.

With this Intelligence they haſtened to acquaint the General. They had not ſailed above a League before their Ship came on Ground, on a Rock of white Coral: But having a ſtrong Gale, they ſoon got her off again, without any Hurt; and drawing near the Road of *Priaman*, they deſcried their Pinnace; whoſe Captain and Maſter met them half a League from the Road in their Skiff. At their coming aboard, the General welcomed them with a Peal of great Ordnance; and having given one another an Account of what had happened during their Abſence, they came to Anchor in five Fathom Water, very good Ground, in the Road of *Priaman*, which ſtands in 60 Min. South Latitude.

The 14th, the General ſent the Author on Shore, with a Preſent to the Governor; and others to ſee what Price Pepper was at, to buy freſh Victuals, and to know whether their Men might land with Safety: But the Governor durſt not ſpeak to him privately, by Reaſon of the War then on Foot, which made them jealous one of another. The Occaſion of theſe Wars was this: The King of *Achen* having two Sons, kept the Elder at Home, intending him for his Succeſſor, and made the younger King of *Pedir*. But the former being diſſatisfied thereat, impriſoned his Father, alledging, That he was too old to govern any longer; and afterwards made War upon his younger Brother. The *Engliſh* finding little Good was to be done in this Place, took in freſh Victuals and departed on the 21ſt to *Bantam*.

The ſame Day they took two Praws, with only a little Rice, which they quitted again. The Sailors ſeeing ſome leap over-board, and imagining they had all done the ſame, the two firſt Men that entered, were grievouſly wounded by two *Indians*, who were hidden behind their Sails, and then leaped over-board, ſwimming away like Water Spaniels. Next Day they took a Fiſher Boat, and let it go alſo, without doing it any Hurt; only in the Attack, one of the Fiſhermen was ſhot thro' the Thigh.

The 25th, they deſcried a Sail, and ſent their Shallop, Long-boat and Skiff to ſee what ſhe was. As ſhe would not ſtrike to them, they attacked her; the Fight continued from three o'clock in the Afternoon till Ten at Night, when their Pinnace, which had been becalmed all the while, coming up, ſhe yielded. She was a Bark about forty Tons, bound for *Priaman*, and loaded with Salt, Rice, and China Ware. They towed her along all Night; but in the Morning, the General finding they were of *Bantam*, where the *Engliſh* Merchants had then a Factory, he let them go, not ſuffering any Thing to be taken from them.

September 2d, they met with a ſmall Ship of *Guzarat*, or *Cambaya*, being about eighty Tons, which they carried into the Road of *Sollabar*, in 4 Deg. South; into which Road many Praws are continually coming to refreſh themſelves: For here you have Wood, Water, Rice, Buffalo's Fleſh, Goats, Hens, Plants, and freſh Fiſh; but all very dear. The 28th, they departed for *Bantam*, and the 23d of *October*, came to Anchor in the Road of *Marrah*, in the Streight of *Sunda*: Here they took in freſh Water. In this Place there is great Store of Buffalos, Goats, Cocks, Hens, Ducks, and other Proviſions; in Exchange for which the Natives choſe to take Callicos, Pintados, and ſuch like Stuffs, rather than Money; and if well uſed, will uſe you well: But you muſt watch them; for they think every Thing their own that they can ſteal from a Stranger.

The 28th, they ſet Sail, and arrived within three Leagues of *Bantam*, which is in 6 Deg. 40 Min. South, where they anchored. The *Engliſh* Fleet, which they thought to have met with, was gone for *England* three Weeks before; but the Factors came aboard, very glad to ſee them, and gave the General an Account how groſly the *Hollanders*, who were then in the Road, had ſlander'd them to the King of *Bantam*; repreſenting them as Thieves and Reprobates, who came only to plunder them by Artifice or Violence, if they found an Opportunity. They added, however, that the *Dutch* were ſo much afraid of them, that they durſt not come into the Road, but lay two or three Leagues off.

The General, moved with this Report, weighed Anchor, and ſent the *Hollanders* Word, that he would come and ride cloſe by their Sides; giving them to underſtand, at the ſame Time, that if they offered ſo much as to point a Gun at him, or the leaſt Inſult whatever, he would either ſink them, or ſink by their Sides. There were of theſe five Ships, one of 7 or 800 Tons, the reſt of a far ſmaller Burden. But to this Meſſage (notwithſtanding they came and anchored cloſe by them) they never had any Anſwer. On the contrary, after the General's Arrival. the *Hollanders*, who before uſed to ſwagger, and keep a mighty Stir on Shore, were ſo quiet after, that ſcarce one of them was to be ſeen on Land.

The 2d of *November*, they took Leave of their Countrymen, and ſtood their Courſe for *Patane*. In their Way, between the *Cherſoneſus* of *Malakka*, and *Pedra Blanca*, they met with three Praws; which, for Fear, ran in near the Shore. Whereupon

upon the General manned his Shallop with eighteen Men, and ſent them to requeſt, that for his Money he might have a Pilot to carry his Ship to *Pulo Timaon*, five Days Sail from thence. But they ſeeing the Ship and Pinnace at Anchor, about a Mile off, not able to come nearer, bluntly refuſed. Whereupon the Shallop attacked them; and in leſs than half an Hour took one; but the Men, who were 70 in all, got aſhore. Another, having fought all Night, yielded about Day-break. She was laden with Benjamin, Storax, Pepper, China-ware and Pitch. The third Praw got away while the other was fighting. The General, who came up in his Skiff a little before the Attack, would not ſuffer any Thing to be taken out of her, but two of the Men for Pilots, and then diſmiſſed the reſt becauſe they were of *Java*. Theſe *Javans* are very reſolute in Danger. Their chief Weapons are Javelins, Darts, Daggers, and a Kind of poiſoned Arrows, which they ſhoot in Trunks. They uſe Targets, and have ſome Harquebuſſes; but are not expert in uſing them. Moſt of them are *Mahometans*. Theſe had been at *Palimbam*, and were going Home again to *Griſy*, a Port Town on the North-Eaſt Part of that Iſland.

The 26th, they ſaw certain Iſlands, bearing off them North-Weſt, which neither they, nor their new Pilots knew; and the Wind being contrary, they put into them to look for Wood and Water. Next Day they anchored within a Mile of the Shore, in 16 Fathom good Ground, on the South Side of the Iſlands. Here ſending out their Boats, they found ſome of them to be ſunken Iſlands, and nothing above Water but Trees and the Roots of them. In ſhort, all is a Wilderneſs of Woods, and a moſt uncomfortable Place, having neither Fruits, Fowls, or any Kind of Beaſts for Victualling.

Theſe they took to be ſome of the broken Iſlands, lying South-Eaſt from the Iſle of *Bantam*. However, in one of them we met with a pretty good watering Place. The 2d of *September* they weighed Anchor, and ſtood for *Patane*, as near as the Winds would permit; for in theſe Months they found them very contrary, keeping ſtill at N. N. W. or N. E.

The 12th, near *Pulo Saor*, they deſcried three Sail, but loſt them in the Night. Next Morning they had Sight of the Pinnace and Shallop, which had been ſent after them, about four Leagues to the Leeward, with one of the Ships which they had taken. They found her to be a Junk of *Panhange*, of about 100 Tons, laden with Rice, Pepper, and Tin, going to *Bantam*. The General diſregarding ſuch mean Luggage, took only as much Rice as ſerved for his Proviſion, and two little Guns, which he paid for to their Content. He alſo kept one Man for a Pilot, who, ſeeing him uſe them ſo well, was willing to go. The other two Pilots which they took before out of the Praws, being very unskilful, he ſent them back in the Junk, after rewarding them for the Time they had been with him.

The 13th, ſailing on towards *Pulo Timaon*, which borders upon the Country of *Penhange*, they were much troubled with contrary Winds and Currents; for the Sea, from the Beginning of *April*, runs continually Southward; and from *April* to *November*, back again to the Northward. The Wind alſo in the firſt five Months, is moſt commonly Northerly, and in the other ſeven Southerly. All the Ships of *China*, *Patane*, *Jor*, *Panhange*, and other Places to the Northward, come to *Bantam* and *Palimbam*, in the Northerly Monſon, and return again during the Southerly. By obſerving theſe Seaſons, Ships will be ſure to have both Wind and Tide with them. Here they found ſuch violent contrary Winds and Currents, that they could advance but a League in 3 Weeks.

Panhange is a very plentiful Country, and full of People of Faſhion. There is alſo Store of Shipping, and Victuals are very cheap. It lies between *Jor* and *Pulo Patane*, and reaches along the Coaſt to Cape *Tingeren*; which is a very high Point, and the firſt Land the Carracks of *Macao*, the Junks of *China*, or Praws of *Gamboja* make, when bound for *Malakka*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Jumbe*, *Jor*, *Palimbam*, *Griſy*, or any other Part to the Southward.

Here, in their Way to *Patane*, they met with a Junk full of *Japoneſe*, who had been pirating along the Coaſt of *China* and *Gamboja*. Their Pilot being dead, and not knowing how to govern their Ship in foul Weather, ſhe was caſt away in the Shoals of the great Iſland of *Borneo*, where they durſt not go aſhore; for the *Japoneſe* being feared as a bold deſperate People, are not ſuffered to land in any Part of *India*, with Weapons. Taking to their Shallop, they met with this Junk, which belonged to *Patane*, of about 70 Tons, laden with Rice; and having killed all the People, except an old Pilot, and having furniſhed it with ſuch Neceſſaries and Arms as they ſaved out of their ſunken Ship, ſhaped their Courſe for *Japan*: But the Badneſs of the Junk, contrary Winds, and Unſeaſonableneſs of the Year, forcing them to Leeward, was the Cauſe of their falling in the Way of the *Engliſh*.

They were ninety Men in all, a Number too great for ſo ſmall a Veſſel, and moſt of them in too gallant a Habit for Sailors: Beſides, there was ſuch an Equality of Behaviour among them, that they all ſeemed to be upon a Level; for tho' one among them was called Captain, they ſhewed him but little Reſpect. Their Lading was only Rice; and, for the moſt Part ſpoiled with Wet; for their Ship was leaky both under and above Water. The *Engliſh* riding at Anchor at a ſmall Iſland near that of *Bantam*, for two Days, treated them kindly, with a View to have learned the Place and Paſſage of certain Ships, on the Coaſt of *China*, in order to have made their Paſſage. But theſe Rogues being hopeleſs, in that paltry Junk, ever to return to their own Country, reſolved either to gain the Ship or loſe their Lives. As there was a friendly Intercourſe between the two Veſſels, with Preſents and Feaſting; ſometimes twenty-five or more of the principal Men would come aboard the *Engliſh* Ship, though not above ſix were ſuffered to have Weapons.

The General intending to have the Rice ſearched in the Junk, ordered Captain *Davis*, in the Morning to poſſeſs himſelf of their Weapons, and put the Company before the Maſt; for Fear, in Caſe any Thing valuable was found, they might ſet upon the *Engliſh*, and kill them. But *Davis* being beguiled by their diſſembling Carriage, would not ſeize on their Weapons, tho' he was ſent twice to do it. At Sun-ſet, after long Search, and nothing found, ſave a little Storax and Benjamin, the *Japoneſe*, ſeeing a fair Opportunity, at a Watch-word agreed on among them, reſolutely fell upon the *Engliſh* in both Ships at once. They ſuddenly killed and drove over-board all that were in the Junk, and thoſe who were aboard the Ship ſallied out of the General's Cabin, where they were put, with ſuch Weapons as they had, or could find there. Sir *Edward* being on Deck, and perceiving what Work was in Hand, leaped into the

Waſte; where, with the Boatſwain, Carpenter, and ſome few more, he kept the *Japoneſe* under the Half-deck.

The firſt they happened to meet was Captain *Davis* coming out of the Gun-room, whom they pulled into the Cabin; and giving him ſix or ſeven mortal Wounds, thruſt him out again before them. He died as ſoon as he came into the Waſte, into which they preſſed ſo eagerly to enter, that they would gather with their Hands on the Pikes of the *Engliſh*, to reach them with their Swords. It was near half an Hour before they could be drove back to the Cabin, four or five of their Leaders being ſlain; and four Hours more before they were ſubdued. They often fired the Cabin, by burning the Bedding and other Combuſtibles; and would have burned the Ship, if they had not been prevented, by beating down the Bulk-head and Pump with two Demi-Culverins from under the Half-deck. Theſe Guns being charged with Croſs-bars, Bullets, and Caſe-ſhot, and bent cloſe to the Maſt-head, ſo mauled them with Boards and Splinters, that there was but one left ſtanding out of the twenty-two. It was ſurprizing to ſee how miſerably their Legs, Arms, and Bodies were torn. They were ſo deſperate that they never once called for Quarter; only one leaped over-board, who afterwards ſwam back to the Ship, and begged Mercy. Being aſked what was their Deſign? He replied, it was to take the Ship, and cut the Throats of all that was in her. He would ſay no more, but deſired he might be cut in Pieces.

Next Day, being the 28th, when they were about five Miles from Land, the General ordered the *Japonian* to be hang'd; but he broke the Rope and fell into the Sea; but whether he ſwam to

Land or not, was unknown. They took their Courſe to a little Iſland to Leeward, where they anchor'd the 30th, ſtaying three Days to mend their Boat, and to take in Wood and Water. Here they found a Ship of *Patane*, whoſe Captain being aſked, whether the Ships from *China* were come to *Patane?* He told them they were not, but would be there in a few Days; they reſolved therefore to wait there for them.

The 12th of *January*, 1606, one of the Mates, from the Top-maſt, deſcried two Ships, which came towards them. The *Engliſh* likewiſe advanced, and coming up with the biggeſt in the Night, after a ſhort Fight, boarded, and brought them to an Anchor. Next Day the *Engliſh* having taken ſome of their Silks, both wrought and raw, pay'd for them more than they were worth; after which they let them depart, without touching their Silver, tho' they had above 50 Tons on Board. This was not done out of Kindneſs, but becauſe they had Hopes of meeting with the other *Chineſe* Ships which they lay in wait for, ſhaping their Courſe back again for *China Bata*. But the Winds proving contrary, they could not fetch it; and ſo were forced to put into two ſmall Iſlands to Leeward, called *Pulo Sumatra*.

The 24th, a great Storm ariſing, their Cable broke. The 2d of *February*, five *Holland* Ships ſailing Homeward, put into the ſame Road. Captain *Warwick*, who was their General, having invited Sir *Edward* to dine with him, told him, That the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Bantam*, were in great Danger of being aſſaulted by the King of *Java*, on Account of the *Chineſe* Ship which he had taken, whereby that Monarch had loſt his Cuſtom; and therefore requeſted him to go no further, but ſail Home with him. Sir *Edward* anſwered, that he had not as yet made his Voyage, and therefore would not return: But weighing the Caſe a little better, after the Departure of the *Hollanders*, and conſidering, that he had but two Anchors left to truſt to, he thought proper to repair his Ship and return Home with the poor Advantage he had made. Accordingly he ſet Sail for that Purpoſe, on the 5th of *February*; the 17th, came to *Sancta Helena*; from whence, after refreſhing, they departed the 3d of *May*, and the 14th, paſſed the Æquator; the 27th of *June*, they arrived in *Milford Haven* in *Wales*; and the 9th of *July*, 1606, caſt Anchor in *Portſmouth* Road, where all the Company were diſmiſſed; having been out full nineteen Months.

The Voyage of Captain WILLIAM KEELING, *to* Bantam *and* Banda: *Being the Third ſet out by the* India *Company.*

THIS Voyage is inſerted in *Purchas*'s Collection, but is no more than an Extract from the large Journals written at Sea by the ſaid *Keeling* and Captain *Hawkins*. The Relation is long, and in many Places dry and tedious: But as it contains a pretty good Account of the firſt Bickerings and Quarrels between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which were afterwards carried to ſo monſtrous a Height, as will ſhortly appear, we could do no leſs than give it a Place here; and to render it as agreeable as poſſible, have curtail'd it of many of thoſe nautical Obſervations, relating to Soundings, Bearings, *&c.* with which Mariners uſually fill their Journals, but are much better deſcribed in thoſe Maps and Charts that are inſerted in the Courſe of this Work.

In this Voyage were employed three Ships, and about 310 Men: *Viz.* The *Dragon* Admiral, Captain *Keeling*, Commander in Chief, or General; the *Hector*, Vice-Admiral, *William Hawkins*, Captain; and the *Conſent*, *David Middleton*, Captain.

April 1ſt, 1607, the *Dragon* and *Hector* proceeded to the *Downs*, the *Conſent* having ſailed before them, and performed her Voyage alone. They paſſed the Line the Beginning of *June*; when being come into four or five Deg. ſoutherly Latitude, they were forced by Guſts, Calms, Rains, Sickneſs, and other marine Inconveniencies, to return Northward: But miſſing the Iſle of *Fernando de Laronha*, to their great Surprize, the General, *July* 30th, conſulted with *Taverner*, the Maſter, who was of Opinion, that they ſhould be obliged to return to *England*. He therefore propoſed ſailing for *Sierra Leona*, as he liked the Place, from what he had read of it in *Hackluyt*. Upon which a Council was called, and it was concluded to repair thither.

The firſt Land they made was *Ilha Verde*, being a round Land, and a notable Mark for thoſe bound to the Place from the Southward. About ſeven in the Evening, they anchor'd in 20 Fathom Water, hard Sand, having ſteered ſix Leagues, or more, to the N. E. and N. N. E. the South Part of the *Ilha Verde*; and the Cape of *Sierra Leona*, being a low Point, North by Eaſt, about eight Leagues diſtant: But the Land over the Cape is very high, and may be ſeen, in a clear Day, fifteen Leagues off.

About ſix in the Evening, they made for the Road; and having anchored, they perceived Men, who waved them aſhore. Whereupon the General ſent his Boat; which leaving two Hoſtages, brought back four Negros, who promiſed Refreſhing.

The 7th, there came aboard with the Boat, Negros of better Appearance, leaving one *Engliſhman* in Hoſtage. For two of them having made Signs, that the General ſhould ſend ſome of his Men up into the Country, and that they would remain as Pledges, he ſent *Edward Buckbury*, and his Servant *William Cotterel*, with a Preſent, *viz.* one coarſe Shirt, three Foot of a Bar of *Iron*, a few Glaſs Beads, and two Knives. They returned towards Night, and brought the General from their Chief, one ſmall Ear-ring of Gold, of about eight or nine Shillings Value. And as it was late, the Hoſtages would not go aſhore, but lay aboard all Night, without requiring any Security for them. The Ship-boat fetched five Ton of freſh Water, which was both good and eaſy to come by.

The 11th, the General went a Fiſhing toward Shore, where the People brought their Women to ſee them, but were afraid the *Engliſh* would carry them away. He gave them ſome Trifles, and bought good Store of Lemons, at the Rate of 200 for a Penny Knife.

The 12th he went again, but took little Fiſh. Next Day it rained without Intermiſſion, and they got Fiſh enough for a Meal. The General bought an Elephant's Tooth of 63*l.* Weight, for five Yards of blue Cotton, and ſeven or eight Pound of Iron Bar.

The 15th, he caught, in an Hour and a Half, 6000 *Cavallos*, a ſmall but good Fiſh. Afternoon, with Captain *Hawkins*, and a convenient Guard, he went aſhore to the Village, where they bought about 3000 Lemons. He reckon'd it a fair Day, when he had two or three Hours dry overhead.

The 16th, he licenſed the weekly Workers to recreate themſelves with him aſhore; where, in all their large Walk, they found not above four or five Acres of Ground ſowed with Rice. The Surface of the Ground is generally a hard Rock. This Day the General order'd Lemon-water to be made.

The 20th, *John Rogers*, who had been ſent up into the Country, brought the General a Preſent of a Piece of Gold, in Form of a Half-moon, of ſix or ſeven Shillings Value; with an Account that the People were peaceable, the Chief without State, and the Landing two Leagues up; and the chief Village eight Miles from the Landing-place.

The 22d, they went aſhore, and made ſix or ſeven Barricos (Veſſels) of Lemon-water; the General opening the Company's Firkin of Knives to buy Limes withal.

The 7th of *September*, they went all aſhore, to ſee if they could kill an Elephant. They ſhot ſeven or eight Balls into one, and made him bleed exceedingly, as appeared by his Track; but being near Night, they were forced to return aboard, without effecting their Deſign.

The 14th, in the Morning, they weighed, and the 17th, they ſaw the Table of *Saldanna* very plain, and ſtanding in to make it, the General cauſed the Maſter to ſteer E. S. E. and S. E. by E. to double the Cape; and the whole Company, both ſick and ſound, deſiring to put into *Saldanna*, they ſtood for it; and about Noon got into the Road, anchoring in five and a half Fathom Water.

As ſoon as they anchor'd, the General went aſhore, finding the People very bold, but dear.

There he met with theſe Words engraven upon a Rock, *viz. The twenty-fourth of* July, 1607, *Captain* David Middleton *in the* Conſent.

The 21ſt, he landed again, and bought 102 Sheep, 12 Bullocks, and two Calves; whereof he allowed the *Hector* a Share. This Traffick continued ſeven Days, in which Time they bought much Cattle.

The 1ſt of *January*, 1607-8, at Sun-riſe they ſet Sail. The 19th, the *Dragon* ſhipped much Water at the Helm-port, and at the Hole abaft in the Gallery, which wetted ſome Bales of Cloth. The too great Quantity of *Kintledge* Goods made the Ship labour exceedingly. The 20th, the General aired and dried the Cloth, oiled the Company's Pieces and Blades, and ſtrengthened their Caſes of Calicos. They proceeded till the 17th of *February*, when they came athwart two Iſlands; and ſeeing an Inlet, ſuppoſed it to be *St. Auguſtines.* Here they reſolved to make ſome Stay, and ſteered for this ſeeming Harbour or Bay, dropped an Anchor in 18 Fathom, and laid another in 40. Here Captain *Hawkins* went aſhore, but returned without having ſeen any People.

The 21ſt, having eſpied four Natives, the General ſent to preſent them Beads, *&c.* Upon which they promiſed, by Signs, to bring Store of Cattle next Day.

The 22d, the General, perceiving ſeveral of the Inhabitants, went aſhore, and found a ſubtle People. Their Bodies were ſtrong and well proportion'd; their Privities only careleſly cover'd with Cloth made of the Rinds of Trees. He bought one Calf, one Sheep, and one Lamb; but they would part with nothing but for Silver.

The 24th, he went aſhore again, on ſeeing one Man there, and bought three Kine, two Steers, and four Calves; which coſt nineteen Shillings, beſides a few Beads. The Cattle were far better Fleſh than thoſe of *Saldanna*; with Bunches on their Shoulders, like thoſe of a Camel, only that they ſtand more forward. Theſe People, it was ſaid, were circumciſed.

It was obſerved, that the Water by the Ship's Side, at Flood, was very freſh; and when the Tide was out, very ſalt, contrary to Senſe. Alſo, freſh Water, at Flood, on one Side of the Ship, and very ſalt on the other; the Ship Tide-road.

The 25th, a Squall ariſing at North-weſt, their Ship drove, and the Cable breaking, they loſt the Anchor. They bought a Calf, a Sheep, and one great tailed Lamb for 2*s.* 2*d.* The General found certain Spiders, whoſe Web was perfectly good, and ſtrong as Silk.

The 28th, in the Morning betimes, they departed, and ſailed along the Iſlands. Leaving *Abba del Curia*, they were forced to ride in *Deliſa*, a Road on the North of *Socotora*, till the Monſon freed them.

The *Moors* of this Place [*Deliſa*] affirm, that in ſome Years, upon the Coaſts of *Mambaſa*, *Magudoxa*, *Pata*, *Brava*, &c. Pieces of Ambergris are found, weighing 20 Kintals, of ſuch Bulk, that many Men may hide behind one of them. They make yearly Voyages from hence to the Iſles of *Comora* to buy Slaves, and report the People to be very treacherous; having, at different Times, killed fifty Perſons by Surprize; and therefore they trade abroad. They ſaid there were eight *Hollanders* upon *Pemba*, who had been there three or four Years; whereof two had turned *Moors* or *Mahometans*.

They reckon the Monſon of South Winds to begin yearly the 1ſt of *May*; and the Extremity thereof to continue one hundred Days. The moſt boiſterous Weather (which they report to be wonderful) is in *June* and *July*; for on the 10th of *Auguſt* it begins to be leſs windy; and ſoon after the North Winds come, attended with much Rain, for three or four Months more: At which Time moſt Aloes is made, which is only the Juice of *Semper Vivens*, put into a Goats-ſkin, and ſo dried.

The 23d of *May*, 1608, the General ſent aſhore to weigh Aloes, and received on Board 1250 *l*. which coſt for the Company's Account 250 Dollars. He bought in all 1833*l.* nett. The Chief, ſending to borrow 500 Rials of Eight, he refuſed to lend; but preſented him with two Yards of Kerſey and a Knife. He had, at another Time, 575*l.* more of Aloes, which coſt 115 Dollars.

The 24th, he learned, that the Weſt Winds, this Year, came eleven Days later than the Year before; ſo that in thirty-three Years they begin again in the ſame Month, and on the ſame Day of the Month. He was likewiſe told, that the Eaſtern Monſon would arrive this Year the 13th of *October*, and continue violent till *April*, and then the Weather hold fair till *May*, when the Weſtern Monſon returns; neither have they any more than two Monſons in a Year: That their Year, called *Neyrooſe*, begins with the firſt of the Eaſt Monſon: That as the Weſt Monſon bloweth here all South, ſo does the Eaſt Monſon all North: That after the 25th of *September*, Ships cannot ſail from the Red Sea Eaſtwards.

That *Chaul*, *Dabul*, and *Danda Rajîpuri*, are good and ſafe Ports, and rich trading Towns, upon the Coaſt of *India*.

That at *Saada*, *Ilbûkî*, *Auzoane*, *Mûtû*, four of the Iſles of *Comora*, there is Abundance of Rice, and the People are good: But that the *Jugbezîjî*, and *Malala* (two more of the ſame Iſlands) produce very little Rice, and treacherous People. They ſaid farther, that at the firſt of them, ſixteen Years ago, an *Engliſh* Ship loſt many Men; which muſt have been Sir *James Lancaſter*'s.

That this Day (the 26th of *May*) was the two hundred and twenty-fourth Day of their *Neyrooſe* or Year: That there is no Rain on the Coaſt of *Arabia*, till the 17th Day of this Monſon: That the three hundred and fifth of *Neyrooſe*, was the beſt Time to go from thence to *Surat*; and that in ten or twelve Days they got thither.

That *Burrom*, *Makella*, and *Cayexem*, are good Harbours for both Monſons on the Coaſt of *Arabia*; but no Places of Merchandizing.

That *Zael*, or *Zaer*, hath no Harbour, nor Road for any Time, but would vend Iron and Lead, a *Turk* being Aga: And that they ſent by Land for ſuch Commodities to *Cayexem*, a Day's Journey to the Weſtward; but there is no going thither at this Time: That in both Monſons, there is a continual extreme Sea-gate upon the Coaſt of *Arabia*; and the Current goes along with the Wind: That there is no Riding at the Entrance of *Surat*, to have any Shelter from the Weſt Shore, againſt the Weſt Monſons, by Reaſon of bad Anchor-ground, and chiefly the extreme Violence of Tides, which over-ſet Ships that are not aground.

The Road of *Deliſa* is a very good Place to ride in ſecure againſt the Weſt Monſon: But what is ſtrange, two Miles either to the Eaſt or Weſt from thence, it continually blows ſo hard, that no Ship can abide it: For which the Author could aſſign no Reaſon, unleſs the Diſtance betwixt the Ships and the high Mountains might cauſe it; for there was much low Land betwixt them and the Shore.

June 24th, they parted. The 23d of *July*, they ſaw an Iſland, and, about Noon, two more. The 26th, they were half-way betwixt *Priaman* and *Teku*, about three Leagues from the Shore. Afternoon, they got into *Priaman* Road, and ſaluted the Town with five Pieces of Ordnance. The Governor ſent a Goat to the General, who returned it with a Preſent of three Yards of Stammel Cloth, one Piece of blue Calico, a Muſket Barrel, and two Sword Blades. He likewiſe beſtowed on the Meſſenger (who ſpoke good *Portugueze)* a Piece of blue Calico. There came another of *Achen*, with whom he had a long Converſation in *Arabic*; and from his Report, conceived great Hopes of a beneficial Trade.

The 29th, the General went aſhore betimes, ſhooting off ſeven Pieces of Cannon. He went immediately to the Governor's Houſe, who preſented him with a Buffalo, and appointed him to ſettle the Price of Pepper with ſundry chief Men. Theſe Commiſſioners were about ſixty in Number, and he had a good many Words with them about weighing the Pepper; he deſired it might be done upon the Iſland, and they inſiſted it ſhould be weighed in Town.

They demanded fifty Dollars the Bahar, which much diſpleaſed him: For the *Achen* Man had adviſed him to offer but ſixteen: But this was his Craft; for being a Merchant, his Aim was to have engroſſed much Pepper, before the General ſhould have bought any, and then would have made him pay his own Price for it. After much Debate, the Rate was agreed at twenty-two Dollars and a Half the Bahar, beſides ſix *per Cent.* Cuſtom:

He likewiſe conſented to pay two other Cuſtoms, or rather Exactions, the one of 160 Dollars, the other, not much leſs; and Writings were drawn between him and them.

The Night before, a Man who ſpoke *Portugueze*, lay aboard the *Dragon*; and in Behalf of the late Governor's Wife, (by him entitled *Queen)* deſired the General's Aid in taking the Town, offering him one Half thereof. But being acquainted with the Fineſſe of *Moors*, and the Thing not agreeable to his Commiſſion, he refuſed to intermeddle; and next Morning ſent him aſhore. He ſold Cloth to *Nakhada*, for an hundred and fifty-nine Maſſes of Gold.

The Town and Lands of *Priaman* yield not, yearly, above 500 Bahars of Pepper: But adding the Produce of the neighbouring Diſtricts, as *Paſſaman*, *Teku*, *Berûs*, and the Mountains over the Town, the Whole will amount to 2500 Bahars, which Quantity will lade two Ships, and may be bought at a very reaſonable Price, if a Factory has Means to buy all the Year. But their Harveſt is only in *Auguſt* and *September*; and the Grain is fetched away by the Ships of *Achen* and *Java* only; the *Guzerats* not being permitted to trade there, by the King of *Achen*'s expreſs Command: So that a Veſſel which touched at *Surat*, and having bought a Parcel of blue or white Calicos, blue ſtriped, and chequer'd Stuffs, and ſome ſmall and fine Pintados, ſhall leave a Factory, may lay the beſt Foundation for Profit, one Year againſt the next. For the Author cannot ſee how Ships can call at *Cambaya*, and come to *Priaman*, Time enough in one Year: Beſides, the King of *Achen*'s Letter muſt be procured for their ſafer Proceedings in theſe Parts.

The 18th of *September*, they departed; and the 21ſt, were within ſeven Leagues of *Sumatra*. The 2d of *October*, they ſaw Land, which they took for the *Salt* Iſland, but it proved a round Hummock upon *Sumatra*. The 3d, they had Sight of the *Salt* Iſle, four or five Leagues diſtant, and four Leagues from the *South Land*, which conſiſts of four Iſles.

The 4th, in the Morning, they were within five or ſix Leagues of the Point, (including *Bantam* whole Bay) E. N. E. from them. There were, before they came to the ſaid Point, two Rocks full of Trees, bearing North and South four Miles, between which they ſteered, and got into the Road of *Bantam*, where they found ſix *Holland* Ships; two were almoſt laden with Cloves, and two more were to be laden with Pepper.

The General found thirteen *Engliſh* alive, whereof four were Merchants, and received a Letter from Captain *David Middleton*. The 6th, he paid *Uncte* and *Tegin*, the two *Chineſe*, their Wages, and releaſed them.

The 20th, he called his Merchants, and having formerly reſolved to return with the *Dragon* for *England*, upon ſpecial Conſiderations, he now reſolved upon employing the Pinnace not yet finiſhed, and to ſend her with *Brown* and *Sidall* for *Banda*: That *John Herne*, *John Saris*, and *Richard Savage*, ſhould remain at *Bantam*: And that ſo ſoon as the Pinnace ſhould return from *Banda*, *John Saris* ſhould go in her to *Sequedana* in *Borneo*.

The 15th of *November*, he ſent for *Jaques Lermile*, one of the *Dutch* Commanders, and diſcovered to him a Deſign of the *Javans* to cut their Throats, whereof he had received very particular Information.

The 22d, the Ambaſſador of *Siam* came to viſit the General, and dined with him. He affirmed that one might ſell a thouſand Pieces of red Cloth in his Country, in two Days, and great Quantities yearly; for they clothe their Elephants and Horſes with it: That Gold is there plenty and good, being worth three Times the Weight in Silver; that there are precious Stones in Abundance, and cheap; and that his Maſter would account it a great Happineſs to have Commerce with ſo great a King as his Majeſty of *England*; with whom, as he underſtood, the King of *Holland* was not to be compared.

The 28th, the General took Leave of the King, the Governor, the Admiral, the old *Shâh Bandar*, *Jura Baſſa*, *Tanyong*, and of the *Hollanders*, deſigning to ſtay no longer aſhore.

The 2d of *December*, at Night, the Merchants came Aboard, bringing a Letter from the King of *Bantam*, to King *James*, and two Picols of *Canton*, as a Preſent to him. The 12th, they eſpied a Sail, before they got out of the Streights, which proved to be the *Hector*. Her Captain ſtaid behind at *Surat*. By her they underſtood, that the *Portugueze* had taken eighteen *Engliſh*, among whom were ſeveral of the Factors, and Goods to the Value of nine thouſand Dollars.

The 14th, they got into *Bantam* Road again, being forced to a longer Voyage, or Loſs of Reputation. The 16th, there came a ſmall *Fleming*, from *Amſterdam*, with News of Peace, between *Spain*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*; and that the End of his Coming was, to order the *Dutch* to deſiſt from their Deſign againſt *Malakka*. The General appointed Meſſ. *Molineux* and *Pockham* to return for *England*, and took the reſt with him for the *Moluccas*. The 17th, he removed into the

Hector, and the Maſters exchanged Ships. The 21ſt, he diſpatched Mr. *Towrſon*, preſſing his Departure with all Speed; and the 23d, the *Dragon* ſet Sail from *Bantam.*

The 1ſt of *January*, 1608-9, they weighed; and the next Place they touched at, was *Jakkatra*, where, having anchor'd, the King ſent his *Shâh Bandar* to deſire Powder and Match; upon which the General preſented him with 30 Pounds, and a Roll of the latter. He bought of them for 45 Dollars, a *Portugueze* Boy, (given to the King by the *Hollanders)* who would by no Means forſake Chriſtianity.

The 10th, they departed, and the 15th, were near the Iſland of *Madura*; a round Iſle, and the higheſt *Eaſterland* of *Java.* The 18th, they were near one of the Iſles of *Noſſarez.* The 21ſt, they ſaw the Land of *Celebes*, where they anchor'd in twelve Fathom Water.

From thence departing, they paſſed by, or had Sight of ſeveral Iſlands, namely, *Deſolam*, *Kambina*, *Tikabeſſa*, *Button*; at which laſt, the King ſent a Caracol, with 40 or 50 Men, on Board; among whom were the King's Uncle and Son, who knew *Sidall* and *Spalding*.

The 4th of *February*, they ſaw *Burro*; and the 5th, in a Conſultation, it was thought beſt to go for *Banda*; the Winds not ſerving for the *Moluccas.* From *Burro*, they ſaw *Amboyna*, which lies Eaſt by North, twelve Leagues diſtant, and is ten Leagues long Eaſt; to the Eaſtward whereof lie other Iſles, Eaſt and Weſt, of good Quantity.

The 6th, they ſaw the Highland of *Banda*, which, in the Author's Opinion, was 25 Leagues diſtant from the Eaſtern Part of *Amboyna.* The *Pulorin* (ſince known by the Name of *Puloroon)* with the little round Iſle to the North, bore South by Eaſt, five Leagues diſtant. *Puloway* with *Pulorin*, lie E. N. E. and W. N. W. 3 Leagues off each each other.

The 8th, they got into the Road or Harbour of *Banda*, where the People and *Hollanders* came to welcome the General. There is a ſmall flat Iſland that lieth to the North of *Pulorin*'s Eaſt End. The 9th, the General went aſhore, and delivered his Majeſty's Letter, with a Preſent; being the beſt gilt Cup with a Cover, the beſt Head-piece and Gorget, and one of Mr. *Buckes*'s Muſkets, which coſt twenty-five Dollars. It was received with the moſt State that had been known; but they took till next Day to conſider of the Propoſal for ſettling a Factory. The *Hollanders* ſhot five Chambers at Captain *Keeling*'s Landing, and five at his going aboard; he dieted with them. They report, that the Eaſt Monſon bloweth 8 Months, beginning betwixt the 1ſt and 10th of *May*.

The 11th, he agreed for building their Houſe. The 21ſt he went to *Urtatan*, to confer with the People, and promiſed to be at *Lantor* the *Sunday* following.

The 25th, he went to *Lantor*, where he delivered the King's Letter, a ſmall gilt Cup with a Cover, a fair gilt Target, one Muſket and a Barrel; which they received with Reſpect. *Nakhada China* (as the *Hollanders* Spy) came aboard in the Night, to adviſe the General how to ſpeed. Where the *Dutch* have a Factory, let no Man look for better Meaſure; large Gifts being more regarded than fair Dealing.

The 13th, they of *Lantor* demanded for *Serapaning* (a certain Cuſtom) one hundred and forty Rials of Eight; and Captain *Keeling* required to ſell his Cloth the beſt he could, by ſettling a Price. The Prieſt was ſent by the Government to demand

Rooba, *Rooba*, before the *Engliſh* traded; which the General refuſed, except upon Condition that the whole Country would bind themſelves to lade him with Mace and Nutmegs, within four Months, at one hundred Dollars the *Katti*. The Prieſt taking Time to conſider of it, the other anſwered, that ſince he perceived he protracted the Affair, waiting till the Arrival of the *Hollanders*, which was now become doubtful, (the Monſons being almoſt ſpent, and the Eaſt Winds beginning already to blow) he would not give paſt ninety Rials. Whereupon the Prieſt took his Leave; who, under a very fair Outſide, concealed Abundance of Guile.

The 16th, there arrived three *Hollanders*, which, without anchoring, ſhot 30, 16, and 9 Pieces of excellent Ordnance. Two of theſe Ships came from *Ternate*, having loſt *Paul van Carden*, their Admiral, with 70 Men, taken by the *Spaniards*. The *Dutch* offered 50,000 Dollars for him; but they would hearken to no other Ranſom, but reſtoring the Fort of *Machian*, which he had formerly taken from them.

The 17th, the *Dutch* Admiral viſited the General; and the next Day, the Officers of the two leaſt Ships, viſited and ſupped with him: But an *Engliſhman* reported, that they deſigned to ſurprize him and his Ships, before the Month was at an End.

The 19th, the States ſent again for *Rooba*, *Rooba*: Which the General refuſing to pay, they ſent once more to tell him, they were met together; but that except he would exceed one hundred Dollars, he might ſave himſelf the Labour of applying to them. He returned for Anſwer, that if he was ſure not to lade a Grain, he would not give above that Sum. Soon after, they ſent to call him, and at length agreed to take one hundred Dollars for the *Katti* of Spice; for *Rooba, Rooba,* 380 Dollars; and for *Serepaning*, 50 Dollars; beſides *Piſſalmi*, a Duty to the four *Shah Bandars*, of four Pieces of *Seraſſa*, or *Malian Pintados*. After this they received a Beam and Weight, the *Katti*, ninety-nine Dollars; and in the Averdupoize five Pound 13 Ounces and a half: Whence it appeared their Rials were too light. The 20th, they began to weigh, and the *Hollanders* coming aſhore ſettled the Price at one hundred the *Katti* for Spice; 400 for *Rooba, Rooba*, and 50 for *Serepaning*; beſides four Pieces of Cloth. The *Engliſh* paid the *Hollanders* underhand Price, elſe they muſt have been idle.

The 23d, the General made a ſecret Agreement with the Chief of *Puloway*, to ſend a Factory thither, and was conſtrained to lend them 300 Rials, and give, as *Serapinang* 100 Rials, with four *Malian Pintados*. Next Day the *Dutch* hearing of the Agreement, ſought to prevent him. The 29th, arrived in the Road ſix great Ships of their's, and two ſmall Pinnaces. The General ſaluted them with nine Pieces, and they anſwered with three.

The 1ſt of *April* 1609, he received by the *Hope*, from *Puloway*, 225 *Kattis*, and three Quarters of Mace, and 1307 *Kattis*, and a half of Nutmegs. The 4th, going aboard to cure one of his Eyes, which by the Heat of the Nuts, Watching, *&c.* was very ſore, he left the Houſe and Goods to the Care of Mr. *Spalding*. There arrived from the *Moluccas* two ſmall *Hollanders*.

The 9th, the *Dutch* Admiral, *Peter Williamſon van Hoef*, went aſhore to *Urtatan*. The Fleet ſhot 40 Pieces of Ordnance; his Ship but five. He delivered a Letter from Count *Maurice*, without a Preſent; which, when the People demanded, Anſwer was made, that they had one aboard; but it was not yet reſolved what it ſhould be.

The 10th, the *Shah Bandar*, at the General's Requeſt, ſent for the Letter; which being in *Portugueze*, he peruſed, and found it only an Inſtrument, binding the Prince and State, to ratify ſuch Agreement as their Admirals and Councils ſhould make with other Powers. It was written on Paper, ſealed underneath, and left open for all.

The 11th, they began to bring their Nuts on Board, being conſtrained thereto by the *Dutch*, whoſe Intention was to go on Shore in a Day or two; ſo that the *Engliſh* could neither ſelect the beſt, nor let them lie long enough in Sweat.

The 12th at Night, after the firſt Watch, the States ſent four Men to deſire the General's Company inſtantly aſhore; but he excuſed going till next Morning, and then went betimes. The *Shah Bandar* of *Nera* coming to viſit him, on his Landing; after much Talk, he propoſed (as he had often done before) the formal Surrender of *Banda*, to the Uſe of the King of *England*, before the *Hollanders* landed, or began their purpoſed Fort. They ſeemed to like the Propoſal well, promiſing to be *chary* thereupon, and give an Anſwer the ſame Day, but did not perform.

The 15th, the *Dutch*, with twenty Boats, landed 1200 Men; the Natives fled. The 18th, the General went aſhore, and ſending for ſome *Hollanders* of Note, complained of many Wrongs he had received ſince their Arrival, and demanded Redreſs; adding, that tho' the *Engliſh* were not then ſtrong enough to right themſelves; yet their King would not ſuffer his Subjects to be injured, by their Means, without obtaining effectual Satiſfaction.

The General, at the ſame Time, told them, that notwithſtanding their Behaviour, he could not forbear

bear acquainting them, that the Natives intended to poiſon their Water; and had, for that Reaſon, warned him not to drink of it. They thanked him, and having been with their Admiral, they requeſted the General from him to have Patience, with regard to the Affair of the Rice, till he had conſulted thereupon.

The 20th, the General went aſhore to fetch the Rice, in Part of *Datan Puti*'s Debt to the Company; but the *Hollanders* had diſhoneſtly taken the ſame, notwithſtanding the Admiral promiſed that he ſhould have it. Then he thought to have ſupplied himſelf among the *Javans*; but they durſt not, tho' he offered five Dollars the *Koyoung*, more than the *Dutch* paid, alledging, that the *Hollanders* had charged them not to ſell him any. At his Return, finding the Perſon whom the Admiral had formerly ſent to him, he deſired him to tell that Commander, *That he looked upon the taking of his Rice as a great Wrong*; *and that, if he were a Gentleman, he would not ſuffer his baſe People to abuſe him, as he walked among them.* The Perſon anſwered, *That he was a Weaver*; whereupon the General reproved him, being an *Engliſhman* in their Service. He replied, *That his own People ſpake ſo of him.*

Afterwards the General took his Praw, and went to *Labatakka*; where he found ſo little Buſineſs, that it appeared not worth while to keep People there, and therefore ſent his Skiff to bring him and his Goods away. The 22d he came to *Komby*, where the *Dutch* did the *Engliſh* much Wrong, even in their own Yard; of which having frequently complained without Redreſs, the General concluded it was by Order of their Chief.

The 24th, the *Dutch* began their Fort. Next Day one of their Pinnaces which came from *Puloway*,

way, could tell him no News of *Brown* there. Upon which he manned his Skiff and went thither, but found little Spice. However the People deſired him to ſtay at *Ayre Puti*, promiſing to lade his Ship; and offered to make it Death to any who ſhould ſell one *Katti* to the *Dutch*. The General ſhewing a Diffidence, having once before been deceived by them, they offered to enter into Articles, and confirm them by Oaths. Upon which he propoſed their bringing the Goods aboard; which they refuſed, fearing the *Dutch*. He then offered to ſend one *Engliſhman* in each Praw, and to run the Hazard if the *Dutch* took it. But they would not hazard their People.

The 26th in the Morning having taken into his Boat 4 Suckles of Mace, and many Nuts, with three Chiefs, in order to confer what to do; by the Way they declared, that if he would not deal with them, their Spice ſhould rot upon the Trees; and they would die before they would trade with the *Hollanders*. But (ſays the Author) they are wicked and faithleſs *Moors*; neither knew I what to do; for if I ſhould go to the *Moluccas*, I muſt loſe 2000 Dollars owing here; and Trade there is uncertain. On the other Hand, ſtaying two Months longer here, would prevent going to the *Moluccas*. However, at laſt he agreed with them. The 29th, the Chiefs being convented, after many Proteſtations of Sincerity, they engaged by Writing, to deal with him only for all their Spice at *Puloway* and *Pulorin*, and at *Ayre Puti*, and not to ſell or part with one ſingle *Katti* to the *Hollanders*.

The *Hollanders* offered twelve thouſand Dollars to make their Peace with the Inhabitants, and drive the *Engliſh* thence, which they refuſed, and often earneſtly deſired the General not to take it ill, that they permitted the *Dutch* to land, and ſell their

Cloth, which they did upon a particular Conſideration, no way material to him.

The 4th of *May* the General went to *Puloway*, where he found the *Hollanders* offered Cloth at one Third leſs than the *Engliſh*. He alſo met with a thouſand *Kattis* of Nuts, and two hundred *Kattis* of Mace, which they of *Pulorin* had ſold to the *Engliſh*, without letting the *Hollanders* have one *Katti* of either.

The 8th, the *Dutch* there ſent to requeſt the Conveyance of a Letter and a ſick Man aboard their Ships, which the General promiſed: But his Nuts being ready to lade, *Nakhada Goa*, or *Goa*, Captain, came from the Chief to entreat him not to carry their Man or Letter; but ſtay alſo himſelf on Shore, which he refuſed, and prepared to ſet forward; of which being informed, they ſent him Word again by the ſame Perſon, *That if he went, they would ſeize whatſoever he left behind, and conſider the* Engliſh *as Enemies.* Upon which he ſtaid.

The 9th, the People ſent and required him not to go aboard in four Days. As he was going to Bed, there came a Command, *That they ſhauld not ſtir out of Doors, upon Pain of Death.* Preſently after, he heard that the *Dutch* were upon their Knees to the People; whereupon going out armed, he found them overcome with Fear, and demanding the Cauſe of their coming out ſo late, they anſwered, *That one of them was ſhot into the Leg with a Trunk, as he ſlept in their Houſe, which cauſed them to ſeek the General's Help; and that they were intercepted by the Way.* He went home with them, and leaving three *Engliſh* with two of them in their Houſe, brought two home with them.

The 10th, in the Morning, he cauſed the Goods of the *Dutch* (at their earneſt Requeſt) to be brought to his Houſe; at which the Natives ſeemed offended.

It was determined in a Council to kill the *Dutch*; but *Nakhada Goa* preſerved their Lives. They were commanded by the Natives not to ſtir out of Doors, upon Pain of Death: Their Goods and Money were regiſter'd. This Evening, many Praws filled with Money went from hence; and the 12th, at Night, one of them returned, with News, that they had ſlain the *Dutch* Admiral, and all his principal Followers. Next Day, the General had much ado to keep the *Dutch* from being ſlain, by thoſe of *Kampon Awrat*, whoſe *Shâb Sabandar* had been ſlain by the *Dutch*.

The 14th, two *Dutch* Pinnaces arriving, the Iſlanders were in great Hopes they would have landed: But the General ordered his Men to forbid them; and not without much Entreaty and Danger, ſaved thoſe who were on Shore, from being ſlain by the People of *Kampon Awrat*, who came all armed with that Deſign. About Noon, he ſent away his Skiff on Ship-board; and at Night, had much ado to preſerve the former, by keeping a careful Watch. Next Day the Skiff returned, with Anſwers to the *Dutch* Letters.

The 16th, the States conſulted, and reſolved, that with the General the *Dutch* ſhould be ſafe; but would not permit them to go aboard their Ships. He went aboard, and brought more Letters to the *Dutch*; and, at the Harbour's Mouth, was hailed by five *Dutch* Shallops, and other Boats.

The 20th, in the Evening, *Simon Hoen*, their Vice-Admiral, came aboard the *Hector*, and gave the General many Thanks for Kindneſſes ſhewed the *Dutch* at *Puloway*. At his going away, ſeven Guns were ſhot off.

The 25th, he manned his Praw, and went to *Labatakka*, where they deſired a Man, or two Ledgers to buy this Spice, which he promiſed them. The *Hollanders* having pulled down his Houſe, gave him, by Way of Satisfaction, 150 Dollars, beſides 40 of the Boards. When he was going to Bed, *Van Bergel* and *Samuel King*, came from the Vice-Admiral to let him know, that they had concluded to allow him a quiet Trade at *Labatakka*, except at ſuch Times as they ſhould come to ſurprize the ſame. They likewiſe deſired him not to take Offence, if their Boats ſearched his, to ſee if he aſſiſted their Enemies. This he took very ill; and, to prevent ſuch Inconveniencies, propoſed to trade only at *Puloway* and *Pulorin*, provided they would pay him what Debts *Nera* and *Kumber* owed him, amounting to 12 or 1300 Dollars. They promiſed to give an Anſwer next Day; and in the Morning, *Van Bergel* brought him Word, that he might trade at *Labatakka*.

The 31ſt, having gone thither to forward Buſineſs, about Supper-time, *Van Bergel* and *Samuel King* came on Board. They deſired to ſpeak with him in private, he went with them into his Cabin; where, after many Compliments, they delivered him a Note from the Vice-Admiral; importing, that he would allow the *Engliſh* to trade, but not to carry Victuals and Munition to the People, whom he held for Enemies: Alſo, that he required their Boats to paſs by his Ships to be ſearched; that otherwiſe they ſhould be ſearched by Force, and both Ship and Goods confiſcated. The General anſwer'd, that he would follow his Commerce; and, that if the other injur'd him, it would fall heavy upon them: That he had ſome of the Rice ſtill to diſpoſe of, and intended to ſell, if they did not obſtruct him: That for Munition, he had not in the Ship above twenty Hand-guns, belonging to certain poor Men; the Sale whereof he neither could nor would prevent, except they would buy them; in which Caſe they ſhould have them at a reaſonable Price: That as to ſubmitting to their Search, that he could not do it without becoming a Traytor to his Prince; and that he would hazard both Life and Fortune, rather than his Integrity ſhould be called in Queſtion at his Return to *England.*

The 2d of *June*, he ſent the Vice-Admiral and Council a few Lines upon the ſame Occaſion, by Mr. *Spalding*, ſeeking an amicable Agreement. Next Day, he received a Note from the *Dutch*, who inſiſted on continuing their Search; and offer'd to buy the Hand-guns, but would not permit the Rice to be carried. To which he returned, by the Meſſenger, the following Anſwer:

The Vice-Admiral, M. Simon Johnſon Hoen, *&c. of the* Dutch *Fleet, may pleaſe to know, that to the End, to take away all Cauſe of Quarrel from them to us, and ſhew the World our honeſt Cauſe, and their Wilfulneſs: Whereas they will not permit my Rice to be carried to* Puloway, *I will likewiſe therein conſent to them, upon Condition, that they will revoke their purpoſed Search. And to the End, they ſhall have ſome Security for the Performance, I will paſs my yet unfalſified Word: Or if that (thro' your Incredulity) be not ſufficient, mine Oath unto your Deputies, or yourſelves, generally at Pleaſure, to the ſame Effect. But if herein you will not (thro' Deſire of Quarrel with the* Engliſh) *conſent to my reaſonable Requeſt, then be pleaſed to know, that I will ſend it at what Price or Hazard ſoever. Con-*

cerning our Munition, I will ſay nothing; your Purpoſe of buying the ſame, being Prevention to your Doubts, which I pray let be done ſpeedily for your own Satisfactions. Thus I commit you to the Almighty, who proſper your honeſt Proceedings, as I wiſh to mine own. From on Board the Hector *in* Banda, *the 3d of* June, 1609.

William Keeling.

Towards Night they ſent him their laſt Reſolution (having called four Councils thereupon,) which was, that they held their Determination for the Search. Whereupon the General conſidering their Intentions, and that the leaſt Violence would cauſe a total Breach; that, in ſuch Caſe, 62 Men could have no Chance, againſt 1000 or more; and that their Ship and Goods would be in great Danger; or at leaſt would be hinder'd to lade Spice, their Fort commanding all: Upon thoſe Conſiderations he yielded, as by Conſtraint, to the Search.

The 5th, he went with his Rice to *Puloway*, they having firſt ſent aboard, and ſearched, to their great Diſcontent: Notwithſtanding which, their Ship at *Lantor* waved, and called them aboard: He refuſing, they ſaid they would ſhoot, but thought better of it.

The 14th, going to *Labatakka*, he bought ſome Spice, and put off ſome Cloth. The 24th, he went to *Kumber*, whence he ſtowed eleven Suckles of Mace.

Next Day, he went to *Lantor*, to recover ſome Debts, which were denied him. The 26th, he ſent his great Boat for *Puloway*, and went himſelf to *Labatakka*, whence he ſtowed two Suckles of Mace. Next Day, the Boat returned from *Puloway* with Spice. The *Javans* began to confer with the *Hollanders*. The 29th, he went to *Kumber*, whence he ſtowed fourteen Suckles of Mace. The 1ſt of *July*, he went thither again to account with Debtors.

The 2d, the *Hollanders* (with all the Strength they could raiſe, leaving the Ships and Forts but weakly manned) went and took *Labatakka*; where they killed 16 or 20 Perſons, burning the Town, and bringing away Pots and Pans. The Author was perſuaded that 40 Men might have done as much as they did.

The 4th, he ſent to *Kumber*; but one of his *Guzerats* adviſed him to go thither no more; becauſe he ſuſpected he held Intelligence with the *Dutch*.

The 16th, before Day, the *Hollanders*, with their whole Power, went to the Eaſtward; and then burned certain Boats, and returning to take *Salomo*, they were there at much Strife about landing; not who ſhould go foremoſt, but who ſhould ſtay longeſt aboard: By which, and other Miſconduct, they were repulſed with the Loſs of ſix Men, beſides many hurt; among whom the Governor, Mr. *Jacob de Bitter*, behaved worthily. Afterwards, *Matthew Porter*, with others, going aſhore, one ſent the General Word by him, that the *Hollanders* deſigned to ſeize him, and adviſed him to look well to himſelf and the Ship. The Reaſon they alledged for this was, that the two preceding Nights, the *Engliſh* made Signs (which were anſwer'd by the People from Shore) of the *Hollanders* Preparation to land.

The 17th, the *Dutch* ſent *Van Bergel* and *Samuel King* aboard the *Hector*, requeſting to know when the General intended to depart. As he was delayed at *Puloway*, he could not ſatisfy them. Then offering to make good all his Debts, if he would be gone ſpeedily, he refuſed; ſaying, that the

Company would not feel ſo ſmall a Loſs; and that he could not anſwer ſuch Deſertion at Home, eſpecially after having ſtaid till his Lading was ready. They had likewiſe ſome Talk concerning the pretended Signals above-mentioned, affirming that the *Engliſh* made them two Nights together, and that many Depoſitions were taken thereupon. Alſo, that one of his Men, who was in their Fort the Day before, being aſked, why they made Signs to the Country? anſwer'd, That they had Reaſon ſo to do, ſince the Country was ſo much indebted to them, and the *Dutch* gave them all the Obſtruction they could. The General, provoked at this Invention, defied them to prove any Thing they had alledged, and bid them go on their own Way. However, that he might take off all Ground of Suſpicion, he offer'd to go ride in *Laboan Java*, where he could neither ſee any of their Motions, nor make Signs to prejudice them.

The 18th, in the Afternoon, the *Dutch* ſent many of their Chiefs aboard him; who, at firſt, demanded kindly, whether he continued in his former Determination of lading there? Having anſwer'd, that he did, they deſired him to reſolve to depart in Friendſhip. He replied, that now Spice was ready, he hoped to get away in twenty Days. Many Arguments paſſed between them: But when they ſaw him inflexible, they deliver'd him a Note from their Vice-Admiral and Council; wherein were forged as many Untruths as Lines. The Copy is as follows:

The General, Mr. William Keeling, *may pleaſe to know, that it hath been, by our Deputies, offered to him that if he thought good to tranſfer over to us, the Debts remaining among the* Bandaneſe, *and then with Friendſhip withdraw from the Road with his*

Ship, (which himſelf heretofore hath partly made Mention of to ſome of us) we are reſolved to deal with them on that Behalf. And altho' this reaſonable Propoſal is by us made to him, to avoid a Quarrel; yet hath the General aforeſaid refuſed to accept the ſame: Notwithſtanding we have ſufficient Occaſion to command him, with his ſaid Ships, to withdraw from this Road, and our Fleet, out of the Reach of the Artillery of the Fortreſs of Naſſau. *And that the foreſaid General may underſtand the Reaſons which moved us to the ſame, we have at large remonſtrated the ſame as followeth:*

The 8*th of* April, 1609, *the worſhipful Admiral,* Peter Williamſon Van Hoef, *having anchored with his Fleet in the Iſlands of* Banda; *and there being informed, by the Merchants of the united* Eaſt-India *Company, that they were, by the Inhabitants of* Banda, *daily ſtraitned and moleſted: And alſo ſometimes diſpoſſeſſed of their Cloths and Merchandizes, which they took at ſuch Rates as they pleaſed, paying for them when and in what Manner they thought proper: Whereby they became indebted to the general* Eaſt-India *Company, above* 20,000 *Rials of Eight, without Intention to diſcharge the ſame. And farther, that our Liegers have lived in a very doubtful Situation, being daily in Fear, leſt they ſhould Work their Deſtruction, as they did but a few Years ago, having murder'd our Merchants, and by Force taken others; and, according to their Cuſtom, made Heathens of them.*

Wherefore the Admiral aforeſaid, was moved, by all friendly Means, to build a Fortreſs or Caſtle, that our Liegers and Merchandizes might reſt in better Security, both againſt the Portugueze *and all other Enemies: Which by moſt of the* Oran Kayas *was conſented to, and therefore have we proceeded to erect a Fortreſs upon the Iſland* Neyra: *Which Fortreſs being*

ing half finiſhed, the Admiral, Van Hoen, *aforeſaid, procured a Convention of the* Oran Kayas, *and Council of the Iſle of* Banda, *to meet him and others of the Council of* Ratû, *there to have enter'd into a friendly Treaty and Agreement with them. To which Effect, the ſaid Admiral nominated the Fiſcal, or Juſtice of the Fleet, beſides others of good Account, as Hoſtages, to continue at* Kayakke; *that they might, with leſs Fear and Reſtraint, come to meet them.*

Accordingly the Admiral, with ſeveral of his Council, and a Company of Soldiers, the 22*d of* May, 1609, *came to* Ratû, *the appointed Place of Convention. Being there, a* Bandaneſe *approached him out of the Woods; who told him the* Oran Kayas, *and other Chiefs of the Iſles, were near at Hand in the Woods, but were ſo fearful of the Soldiers, that they durſt not come to them; and therefore prayed him and his Council to come to them, which they accordingly did, leaving the Soldiers at the Place of Rendezvous: And being enter'd amongſt them, found the Woods crouded with* Blacks, Bandaneſe, *and* Oran Kayas; *who inſtantly ſurrounded them, and without much Conference, treacherouſly and villainouſly maſſacred them, giving each of our Chiefs no leſs than twenty Wounds. This Stratagem having ſucceeded, they preſently aſſaulted the Company of Soldiers, intending to have ſerved them the ſame Sauce: But they, partly in Fear, and ſuſpecting ſome Treachery, having kept upon their Guard, encounter'd the Enemy; who, at length, betook themſelves to their beſt Refuge, with the Loſs of ſome of their Chiefs, and ſo fled to* Kayak: *And there having murder'd the Fiſcal, or Juſtice aforeſaid, with the reſt of the Hoſtages, beſides divers others of our People, who were walking into the Woods to gather Cocoa-nuts: Inſomuch that, on this Occaſion, above forty of our People were murder'd by the* Bandaneſe, *contrary to their*

Oaths and Promiſes. Which Actions provoked us to take all poſſible Revenge againſt thoſe treacherous and inhuman Iſlanders, and urge us to proſecute the preſent bloody War.

Here follow'd many Preſumptions of his, the General's, aſſiſting the *Bandaneſe* with Munition, by Signs, *&c.* which *Purchas* has omitted.——They conclude thus :

We, by Virtue of our Commiſſion and Patent of his princely Excellency, command the aforeſaid General to withdraw with his Ship out of our Road and Fleet, and beyond the Reach of the Artillery of the Fortreſs of Naſſau, *within the Space of five Days after the Date hereof. And in as much as we have conquer'd, by Force of Arms, the Iſland of* Nera, *we alſo claim and hold the Roads belonging thereto, as the Road of* Labatakka, *&c. to be under our Command. And will not permit any (during our War with the* Bandaneſe) *to anchor there.*

Accordingly it is ordain'd, agreed, and abſolutely reſolv'd upon by the Vice-Admiral, and the reſt of the Council, in the Ship of Hollandia, *in the Road of* Banda, *the 28th of* July, 1609.

To this Remonſtrance the General briefly anſwer'd by Word of Mouth, That he could not juſtify his departing thence in ſuch a Manner, his Lading being then ready; and that unleſs he was otherwiſe commanded than by Words, he ſhould ride there till he was laden, which would be within twenty-five Days at fartheſt. They alledged, that this their Notification to him was ſufficient. To which he replied, that oftentimes raſh Men threaten to do, what they durſt not for their Lives perform. He ſhot off five parting Pieces.

The 19th, he ſent his Skiff for *Puloway*, to look out for a Road there. *Van Bergel* coming aboard to ſearch the Boat, the General deſired him to tell the Vice-Admiral, that he would leave a Factory at *Puloway*, in Caſe of Conſtraint; and that without Conſtraint he would not depart from thence.

The 20th, about One in the Morning, the Skiff returned from *Puloway*, without any Account of the Debts, or Inventory of the Goods, which were the principal Cauſes of his Writing. He, who was ſent on the Meſſage, brought Word only that the People were willing to pay their Debts, if he could ſtay fifteen or twenty Days; and offer'd him their beſt Road at *Puloway*. The *Dutch* after this came to ſome Agreement with him for the Time of his Stay, and for the Debts: To which he was invited by the Monſon, and the Trade he already had.

The 1ſt of *Auguſt*, Peace was proclaimed between the *Dutch* and the Iſlanders; which was a melancholy Argument of the *Puloways* breaking with the *Engliſh*. The *Dutch* ſent the General a Letter of Credit, for diſcharging the Debts left at *Banda*, payable at *Bantam*; and that Evening ſhot off 150 Pieces of Ordnance for Joy of the Peace. Upon the Governor's earneſt Entreaty, he went to ſee the *Dutch* Fort: It was mounted with 30 Pieces of Ordnance, 3 of which were very good Braſs Demi-Cannons.

The 4th, having ſent his Boat to fetch away the Goods, there returned with it a Servant of *Nakhada Guzerat*; by whom he underſtood, that the *Puloways* reſolved not to let me have any more Spice, except ſome little, to gloſs over the Wrong done to the *Engliſh*: Wherefore he ſent his Boat again for *Brown*; and ſhot five Guns to warn his

People aboard; the Iſlanders not perceiving he was offended at their ill Dealings. After the ſecond Summons, *Brown* came, but not *Spalding*; whom they would not part with, till the General went aſhore. Whereupon he ſtood again to the Eaſtward, and coming ſomewhat near the Town, the King of *Makaſſar* came aboard him, bringing *Spalding* and the three *Dutch* aboard: For which he was more beholden to the King's Pawn than their Honeſties.

The 10th, he weighed a Half-hundred by his ordinary *Banda* Beam, and it weighed nine *Kattîs* and a Half; ſo that the *Kattî* weighs 5*l.* 14 *oz.* ½ Avoirdupois. He weighed alſo the ſingle *Kattî*, which made 5*l.* 14 *oz.* ¼ Avoirdupois. The 11th, they anchor'd near *Makaſſar* upon *Celebes*, being very deſirous to go thither; in Hopes, as he was informed, of getting Cloves in Exchange for Cloth.

The 12th, having ſent his Skiff armed, to enquire whereabout they were, he found, that *Makaſſar* was yet half a Day's Sail to the North; and three Months before, a *Dutch* Ship was loſt in Sight of the Town: Upon which Report, they gave over the Deſign of going thither.

The 21ſt, they anchor'd before *Jakatra*, where they found the *Banda* and *Enkhuiſen*, two *Dutch* Ships, and their Goods from *Amboyna*, having arrived eight Days before.

The 26th, coming near the Point of *Bantam*, they met a Praw with *Ralph Hearne*, ſent by Mr. *John Saris*, who had ready 3481 Bags of Pepper. Having got betimes in the Road, *Saris* came aboard the *Hector* in a *Dutch* Boat.

The 31ſt of *September*, at the King's Requeſt, the General ſent 25 armed Men to make him Paſtime.

This was done in Honour of his having, the Night before, made Conqueſt of his Wife's Virginity.

The 23d, the General having taken 4900 Bags of Pepper, propoſed the leaving a Factory, which was conſented to.

The 27th, he appointed a Factory at *Bantam*, aſſigning the Factor, *Auguſtine Spalding*, 50*l.* a Year, and the reſt of his Aſſiſtants, a certain monthly Salary; and alſo hired ſix Perſons to go with him for *England*.

The 29th, he ſettled Matters relating to the Cuſtoms with the Governor, after much ado.

The 30th, the Company's Buſineſs was tranſferred from *Saris* to *Spalding*; who was deſired to bear in Mind the *Dutch* Inſolency and Hatred towards the *Engliſh*, and therefore to have but little to do with them.

The 2d of *October*, the General took his Leave of the Governor, and deſired his Favour to the Factor, which he promiſed with much Shew of Sincerity.

The 3d, he went on Board betimes, and proceeded on his Voyage Homewards, and on the 9th of *May*, 1610, arrived in the *Downs*, without meeting with any remarkable Occurrence in their Paſſage. 'Tis true, he gives a long and particular Account of all the Latitudes and Bearings during the whole Courſe: But as this would make but a dry Entertainment to moſt of our Readers, we thought proper to omit it. And indeed the whole Relation, as given by *Purchas*, is in many Places ſo obſcure and intricate, that it coſt us ſome Pains to make it intelligible; and had it not been to give ſome Light into the firſt Riſe and Grounds of the Quarrels between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* in the *Eaſt Indies*, we ſhould have paſſed it over, as not worth the public Attention.

Tranſactions of Captain WILLIAM HAWKINS *at* Surat, *and the Court of the* Great Mogul, *in Behalf of the* Eaſt-India *Company: Written by himſelf.*

I Kept Company with Captain *Keeling* as far as *Deliſa*, a Road in the North of *Socotora* in the *Arabian* Sea, at which Place we parted, he purſuing his Voyage in the *Dragon* for *Bantam*, and myſelf in the *Hector* for *Surat.*

I came thither *Auguſt* 24th; and having informed the Governor of my Arrival, and the Character I came in of his Majeſty's Ambaſſador, I received his Compliment and ſolemn Invitation to come aſhore, and had, at my Landing, an Entertainment, that, if all the reſt had been as agreeable, would have given me no Cauſe to complain.

'Tis to be obſerved, that the Management of Affairs at *Surat*, lay in the Hands of two great Men; the one Viceroy of the King of *Decan*, who had Cognizance of all Cauſes that related to Land-Buſineſs and Civil Government; the other, Viceroy of *Cambaya*, who preſided over the Marine Affairs. This was the perfidious *Mocrebchan*, in whoſe Hands, Merchants and Sailors, and all that hath any Relation to the Sea, muſt neceſſarily fall; without whom no Trade can be eſtabliſhed, or any Factory be ſettled in thoſe Parts, and who does in all theſe Matters juſt what pleaſes himſelf, and is agreeable to his own covetous and ambitious Humour. No man ſeemingly ſtudies more his Prince's Honour and Intereſt than he, and none minds it leſs; no Man, to Appearance, more loyal, honeſt, and ſincere, and none that dares practice theſe Virtues leſs; and a Man that can be wiſe, real, true, and juſt to himſelf alone, and, in ſhort, remarkable only for his Preferments and extraordinary ill Qualities. My Concerns falling under his Cognizance, and he being at *Cambaya* when I landed, I was forced to wait till Orders came from him, before I could proceed in any Buſineſs, though in the mean Time, I had very civil Treatment from the other Viceroy, and the Promiſe of his beſt Endeavours with *Mocrebchan*, on my Behalf. When ſome twenty Days were expired, a Meſſenger came with a Letter from this great Man, wherein he gave me Licence to land the Goods I had brought, as alſo to buy more for my Lading this preſent Voyage; but as to a future Trade, and the ſettling a Factory, he could ſay nothing to that till he had further Orders from Court. At the ſame Time he wrote to the chief Manager of the Cuſtoms under him at *Surat*, to bring all my Goods into the public Cuſtom-houſe, and ſecure them till his Brother came; to chuſe out ſuch Parcels as were moſt fit for the King, as he pretended, tho' it is nothing leſs than the King's Profit they deſign by all thoſe Practices with Foreigners.

However, having this Liberty, I brought my Goods aſhore, getting in ſome conſiderable Quantities of Money, I began to lay it out in ſuch Commodities as were vendible at *Bantam* and *Priaman*, and which the *Guzerats*, with a great deal of Profit, came hither for every Year. I accompliſhed the Lading of two Barks with this Sort of Merchandize in a little Time, tho' not without ſome Noiſe and Grumbling from the Merchants of the Town, who now began to make publick Complaints of me, as a Perſon that had undermined them in their moſt profitable Trade, and craftily ſnatched a good Part of their Advantage out of their Hands. But for all this, having Licence from the higher Powers, to ſhip the Goods I had bought, I made bold to ſend them away, tho', as it proved, in the moſt unlucky Time in the World for myſelf, and the moſt proper to gratify the Spite and Malice of the Merchants. For the next Day I had News that both the Barks were taken, with all the Men and Goods, by the *Portugueze*; and that not without ſeveral Grounds of Suſpicion, that the chief Men I had entruſted in them, were guilty of a treacherous Correſpondence with the Enemies, that an abſolute Plot was formed for the betraying of them into the Hands of the *Portugueze* by *Mocrebchan*, and the pious Jeſuits of his Club; and the Reaſon why I was delay'd ſo long before I could have Orders to lade and diſpatch, was, that the Veſſels might hit to go out at that Time when the *Portugueze* were ready to ſwallow them up. In vain was it for me to make Complaints, or ſo much as attempt to ſeek Redreſs. Should I apply myſelf to *Mocrebchan?* He was the firſt Spring and grand Mover of the Miſchief; and to aſk there for Help, would be courting a Knave to right the Wrongs done by himſelf; and begging a Plaiſter from the malicious Hands that gave the Wound. As for the *Portugueze*, who did the Injury, when I demanded Satisfaction, I had nothing but Scorn and Spite, ill Words and Railing, to make me Amends. It was to no Purpoſe for me to alledge his Majeſty's Authority and Commiſſion, by which I was empowered to act in thoſe Parts, and the bad Conſequences of Acts of Hoſtility as theſe were, in producing

ing a War between the two Nations. As for his Majeſty's Commiſſion they valued it not a Farthing, and they affirmed, *He ought not to have ſent his Subjects there without Leave from the King of* Portugal, *who was the rightful Lord of thoſe Seas*; and then, with the Manners and good Breeding peculiar to that civil People, they expreſſed themſelves concerning my Prince at ſuch a Rate, as if he had indeed been but little better than one of thoſe Fiſhermen, of whom they ſcandalouſly ſaid he was King. This was their Character of *Engliſhmen* becauſe they live in an Iſland; but there is ſtill a better Reaſon (tho' no good one to them) why the *Engliſh* ſhould be called Fiſhermen; and that is, becauſe they have generally ſuch good Fortune upon the Waters, and drag ſo many *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Ships within the Reach of their Nets. And the only Courſe I could take under theſe Affronts, to vindicate the Honour of my Prince and Country, (ſince I could now do it in no more public Way) was to offer to do it by my own Sword, and to return the Traitor and Villain to the Teeth of the *Portugueze* Captain, with a Challenge to meet me in the Field. But they, it ſeems, had more Mind to diſpatch me without the Ceremony of a formal Combat, and thought it a ſafer Way to piſtol or knock me on the Head in the next Place they met me, than leave the Matter to the Iſſue of a Duel. And that this was their Deſign is evident, becauſe all the Ways were continually beſet by them, ſo that I hardly dared to ſtir out of Doors; and it was impoſſible for me to obey the Call of Buſineſs, without manifeſt Hazard of my Life, by that barbarous Crew, who waited an Opportunity to ſacrifice me. They were ſo mad upon this Deſign, that there came a whole Body of them, in an open Manner, to a Feaſt, where I was in-

invited, aſking for me in plain Terms, intending, no doubt, to have my Head to bring up the Rear of the Diſhes at Table. But here was an *Indian* Captain that ſtood my Friend, with his Company, to ſuch good Purpoſe, that the *Portugal* Buff-coats were glad to make off with ſome Haſte; or, for ought I know, it had been the laſt Feaſt ſome would ever have been at. Nay, they did not bluſh formally to beſet and aſſault the Houſe where I lived; and, as if I had been ſome very odious Perſon, whom the Church had conſigned over into the Hands of the Executioners of her Sentence, they came with a Prieſt at the Head of the Troops, to crave a Bleſſing upon the Attempt, to inſpire the Soldiers with Courage and Reſolution, and to take Care of the Souls that ſhould be ſent away in this godly Enterprize. And to give thoſe pious Fathers their Due, they had their Hand and peculiar Influences in every Plot that was formed againſt my Life and Liberty. When the reſt of my Adverſaries were dull and indifferent, they would infuſe new Warmth and Vigour into them, rouze up their ſleeping Malice and Revenge, and prepare them to Action with the utmoſt Diligence: And if they happened to be at a dead Lift for a Plot, the never-failing Invention of the Jeſuits would be ſure to help them out with one. What between the Heat of the Climate, and the inward Fire of their own Rage and Jealouſy, their Wits were thoroughly warmed, and their Brains crouded with briſk volatile Spirits, fit to work upon the fine Arts of Intrigue. They are not dull in any Part of the World, nor ever to be charged with Poverty or Barreneſs of Fancy in Matters of this Kind: But here their Elevation was extraordinary, their Flights fine and rapturous beyond Compariſon; they did not think, but were tranſported into happy Thoughts and Contrivances; they plotted by Inſpiration.

I found it a hard Taſk to eſcape all the Snares, and ward off the ſeveral Blows theſe Men and their Inſtruments made at me. There were ſo many that aimed at my Life, one Way or other, that it was become a very difficult Matter to keep it, and I had defended it ſo long, that now I began to grow weary.. But beſides all this, the Injuries I ſuſtained by *Mocrebchan* in the Matters of Trade and Dealing were ſo foul and unprofitable, that I thought it high Time to repair to Court and ſeek for Juſtice and Redreſs, as well as the Diſpatch of my Buſineſs, at the King's own Hands, ſince it was impoſſible to have either from this vile Miniſter; for he took what Goods he pleaſed, and at what Rate he pleaſed, and would pay me for them when he thought fit; and as long as any Thing choice and good laſted, I had ſome of his Flatteries and diſſembling Smiles; but afterwards could get neither Goods nor Money. Upon this Score, I reſolved for *Agra*; and therefore in plain Terms demanded his Licence and Letter to the King for that Purpoſe. This was a Requeſt he could not for Shame deny, and therefore was forced to yield to it; yet, to ſhew me his Good-will, he refuſed to let me have any Guard to conduct me thither, ſo that I might the more eaſily be knocked on the Head by the Way. Whoſe friendly Advice this was may be eaſily gueſſed, and will appear by after Circumſtances; but, however, with or without his Guard, to *Agra* I was reſolved to go.

Having, in purſuance of my Deſign entruſted one of my Company with the Overſight and Management of Buſineſs at *Surat* in my Abſence, I procured a Troop of about 40 or 50 Horſe (beſides

ſides ſome Shot and Bows which I hired) from one of the Viceroy of *Decan*'s Captains.

The Horſe I had were all *Pattans*, who are a very valiant People, and much feared in thoſe Parts; and it was well I was ſo provided, otherwiſe, in all Likelihood, I had been intercepted in my Journey; for the *Portugueze* had laid a Trap for me in the Province of *Chaly* by an *Indian Raja*, who commanded there, and was ready, by their Inſtigation, to fall upon me with two hundred Horſe: But the Terror of my *Pattans* kept him at a Diſtance, ſo that we paſſed without Diſturbance.

In the Province of *Dayta*, thro' which I paſſed next, I eſcaped a more formidable, becauſe a more ſecret and hidden Danger; and the Inſtrument of my Preſervation was my drunken Coachman, tho' ſorely againſt his Will. This Fellow was hired to murder me by the Way, and had, in all Probability acted his Deſign, had not the Liquor made him tell Tales of himſelf; but being Brim-full of the Plot, and ſtrong Drink too, he let his Tongue run ſo far beyond his Wits, that out came the Plot before he was aware. This drunken Fit was very luckily tim'd for me, ſince the Thing was to have been executed the next Morning early, when we began our Travel, which is always two Hours before Day. But tho' the little Villain would not diſcover the great ones who had engaged him in this Work, yet my Truckman or Broker did, confeſſing, that he alſo was a Tool employed upon the ſame Deſign, and had promiſed to accompliſh that by Poiſon, which the other had promiſed to do by Stab: That *Mocrebchan* had hired them to do this, but the Jeſuit *Pineiro* had put the Deſign into his Head, to prevent my Complaint at Court, becauſe they could not, on account of my Character, pretend to ſtop me any other way. And I doubt not but the Father would have been very liberal to theſe Men, had they executed their Deſign, ſince he bid an extraordinary Price for me once before, no leſs than 40,000 Rials of Eight, to have me ſent away Priſoner to *Daman.*

But after all theſe Difficulties, and the good Conduct of the *Pattans*, who cleared the Way before me, and did me very faithful and commendable Service, I arrived ſafely at *Bramport*, the Reſidence of the then Viceroy of *Decan*, by whom I was nobly entertained. I had his very kind Letter of Commendation to the King, and all needful Aſſiſtance for my Journey to *Agra*; to which Place, a favourable Providence and a good Guide brought me thro' many Dangers and threatening Miſchiefs, after a Month's Travel in the Proſpect of them.

My Entrance into the City was not (nor could, it ſeems, be) ſo private, but Notice was immediately given to the King. Indeed I deſigned to have been *incognito* for ſome Time, till I had put myſelf in Order for a more public Appearance, but was utterly prevented, his Majeſty ſending ſeveral Troops of Horſe and Foot to find me out, and bring me to Court in the moſt pompous Manner that could be.

Being introduced to his Preſence (tho' I came without any Preſent worthy his Acceptance, his good Servant *Mocrebchan* having robbed me of what I deſigned for that Purpoſe) I was received with uncommon Honours and Degrees of Reſpect, ſuch as I could no way have conceived or hoped for.

My Prince's Letter he received from me with his own Hand, reaching it out, to that End, a conſiderable Way from the ſtately Throne he ſat on; and tho' an old Knave of a Jeſuit, who ſtood there to interpret it, pretended to find Fault with the Stile of it, as not reſpectable enough, yet he himſelf was very well pleaſed, and took no Notice of what was inſinuated by the ſlanderous Prieſt. In ſhort, he proteſted in a moſt ſolemn Manner, that he would grant all the Contents of the King's Letter, and more too, if it were demanded. That as he underſtood that *Mocrebchan* had abuſed me, ſo he would take Care that I ſhould have Satisfaction, and ſome Courſe ſhould be taken to prevent the like ill Treatment of me, or any of my Nation for the future.

And in purſuance of this, he preſently diſpatched a Courier to that perfidious Miniſter at *Surat*, giving him a ſtrict Charge to deal juſtly and favourably with the *Engliſh*; and as he valued his Favour, and pretended any Duty or Loyalty to him, that he ſhould take Care to ſhew it, particulary by a ſpecial Obedience to this Command.

But beſides theſe Favours upon the public Account, I had the good Fortune to enjoy many ſignal ones upon my own private Score. After I had been at Court, I could hardly ever be at Reſt for Meſſengers to bring me thither. His Majeſty underſtanding very well the *Turkiſh* Tongue, and finding me to ſpeak that freely, it was his Delight to ſit and talk with me both Night and Day; and none had more of his Company than I, except his Miniſter.

We went over all the Affairs of *Europe*, particularly *England*, and the adjoining Countries; and after that into the *Weſt-Indies*, which he had heard ſome Reports of, but never received any complete Satisfaction, till he had it from me, who had been in thoſe Parts. Theſe Things pleaſed him to that Degree, that he began to plot how to engage me to him for ever; and in Order to it, made me the moſt tempting Offers he could poſſibly think on. I ſhould have a certain Stipend of *3200l. per Ann.* for my firſt Encouragement, and this ſhould be increaſed together with his Favour every Year. But farther (which was the moſt perſuaſive Argument to a Man that valued the Good of his Country before his own particular Fortune) if I would yield to ſtay with him, he would grant me all the Privileges I could deſire with Reference to a Factory; and this Grant he vowed ſhould never be repeal'd: And upon theſe Conſiderations, both out of Duty to the Public, and Reſpect to myſelf, I thought it neceſſary to comply with his Deſire. But notwithſtanding I was thus (to all Appearance) ſecurely poſted under the Protection of ſo great a Prince, and in ſo high a Degree poſſeſſed of his Favour too; I found by many unpleaſant Experiences, I was not got beyond Vexation and Diſturbance, nor out of the Reach of Enemies. For now the *Mahometans* began to ſwell with Rage and Envy, that a Chriſtian ſhould be placed ſo near the King; and the Jeſuits and *Portugueze* were no leſs than ſtark mad, that I had flown above all their Toils and Snares into ſo ſoft and eaſy a Neſt in the very Centre of the Court. The News that it was ſo, ſpread all over the Country, to *Goa*, to *Surat*, and whereever there was any of that Cattle to be found. And this ſet them all moſt buſily at Work; the Jeſuits neglected their Devotion, and rack'd their Brains Night and Day; they made Confederacies, ſent Diſpatches from one Place to another, they conſulted Hell to remove me, and work my Overthrow. They brib'd *Mocrebchan*, their old Friend and Brother in theſe Villainies, to write a Letter to the King upon this Subject; to repreſent to him the dangerous Conſequences of the Liberties and

Favours he had granted to the *Engliſh*, and the Reports that went current abroad of the Deſign we had of ſeizing ſome of his Ports when our Shipping came. But the King (as yet kind and conſtant) giving no Credit to this Letter (tho' it was ſeconded by another from the Viceroy of *Goa)* they fell into the laſt Extremity of Rage and Madneſs at the Diſappointment; and now concluded, ſince I was the main Obſtacle, that nothing elſe could be perform'd to remove me out of the Way, but the old Catholic Method of poiſoning. They began with ſome of my Servants, one of whom they ſent into the other World; and finding by my own growing Indiſpoſition, that I was ſo like to follow quickly after, I plainly told the King the Circumſtances of extreme Danger I was in. Upon this, he preſently ſent for the Jeſuits, and bid them look to it, ſince if I died by any Thing of an extraordinary Caſualty that afforded the leaſt Ground for Suſpicion, they ſhould every Man pay for it with their Lives. After this, being at ſome Quiet, I ſolicited the compleating of his Majeſty's Favour, with Reference to our Trade and Factory at *Surat*, whither I had obtain'd Leave to go in Perſon with his Commiſſion now ready for me. But the chief Vizer, an implacable Enemy to all Chriſtians, and in the ſame Intereſt with *Mocrebchan* and the Jeſuits, inſinuated to the King ſeveral Inconveniencies and Dangers, which he pretended would certainly follow my going thither; by which Means my Journey was ſtopt, and the Commiſſion was ſent by another Hand, tho' as full and effectual to the Purpoſes of our Buſineſs as could be deſired.

A little before it came, our Ship, the *Aſcenſion*, was unhappily caſt away there; and the Men, tho' ſaved, were forbidden, by the barbarous *Mocrebchan*, to come into the City of *Surat*, where only they could expect to find Friends and Relief in their Diſtreſs. But his Majeſty, upon my Complaint, ſent freſh Orders to that ill-natur'd Man, whoſe Carriage he began now highly to reſent, to take all thoſe poor Seamen into the City, and uſe them kindly, and not only ſo, but to uſe his beſt Endeavours to ſave all the Goods of the Ship if it were poſſible. Beſides this, being ſurrounded on every Side with the Cries and Complaints of his Subjects upon the horrid Injuſtice and Tyranny of that Miniſter, he could no longer defend himſelf againſt them, but was forced to ſend for him up to Court, to anſwer the Crimes laid to his Charge. And tho' he made his Appearance there with all his ill gotten Goods and Wealth, the Effects of many Years Extortion, Oppreſſion, and Cheating; amongſt which, alſo, I ſhewed the King the Things I deſigned as a Preſent for his Majeſty; yet, by the induſtrious Care and Application of his Friends, he got clear again, being only confin'd, and ſo oblig'd to pay his Debts and make Reſtitution. It had been happy for the *Engliſh* Nation, had this Traytor (then in ſo fair a Way for it) been brought to a deſerved Puniſhment; but inſtead of that, he was reſtor'd to his old Place and Preferments again, and reſerv'd, as it ſeems, for a farther Plague to us, in overturning the faireſt Proſpects and Deſigns that, perhaps, ever will be form'd in that Country.

But to proceed with our Affairs: Though the King's Command had obliged *Mocrebchan* (very much againſt his Inclination) to be juſt and honeſt to his Creditors, yet I could not be ſo happy as to obtain the Benefit of that Order in full Payment of the Debt owing to me. His late Diſgrace and Danger had not mollify'd him one Jot, and he came out of Priſon the very ſame deſigning Knave and

Cheat that he went in. He would neither pay me my Money, nor reſtore the Goods he had taken from me; neither could I ſee any Proſpect of Satisfaction to be made me, unleſs a few Heatheniſh Promiſes and Flatteries would have ſerved the Turn: And it is certain, that this muſt have been all, if I had not demanded Juſtice of the King, and got a poſitive Order for Payment; notwithſtanding which, the Infidel cut off a good Part of my Bill, and abated me 12,500 *Mamedies.*

But this was a very inconſiderable Damage in Compariſon with what quickly follow'd. For now *Mocrebchan* being at full Liberty again, the Jeſuits, the *Portugueze*, and he, fell to their old Trade of plotting with the utmoſt Vigour and Diligence. And that now they might have all the deſired Succeſs, and at one Stroke carry their Point for ever; the Matter was ſo order'd, that a Letter ſhould come from the Viceroy of *Goa*, to complain of his Majeſty's encouraging the *Engliſh*, and to ſhew how ill the King of *Portugal* took it at his Hands; and at the ſame Time ſome Merchants were made to come in and give their Evidence how much they had ſuffer'd in their Trade and Buſineſs upon Account of the *Engliſh* that were in his Majeſty's Ports, for whoſe Sake the *Portugueze* would not admit them to free Egreſs and Regreſs at theirs.

Theſe malicious Inſinuations, back'd by a charitable Speech of *Mocrebchan* to the ſame Purpoſe, ſo effectually wrought upon the King, that he quite loſt his Conſtancy, repeal'd his former Grant, and gave Orders that the *Engliſh* ſhould be forbidden his Ports for ever. But it was not long before a better Humour, and more cool and ſober Thoughts produc'd an Order quite contrary to this again, to eſtabliſh us in the Enjoyment of our former Privileges, and made the King as much our Friend as he was at firſt. This was a ſudden, tho' a comfortable Change; and as it was the Effect of the Abſence of our Enemies, and a ſlight Preſent made him, ſo I doubted the Foundation and Cauſe was too mean and poor to produce any Thing of a noble and laſting Effect. And my Preſages were juſt and true; for the King being now got into the changeable Humour, did nothing elſe but alter his Mind, and go from one Reſolution to another.

When the Jeſuits writ to him and preſented him, then he would be turning us out of his Kingdom, and calling in the Commiſſion for the Settlement of our Trade: And, perhaps, the next Time I offer'd to petition him, all ſhould be right and well again, and the *Engliſh* the moſt welcome People to him in the World. No leſs than three or four Times were our Hopes thus rais'd, and as often ſunk into the loweſt Deſpair. Thus frequently did he do and undo, ruin and recover us, ſuffer Sentiments of Kindneſs and Diſpleaſure towards us to rule and act him by Turns. However, at laſt our indefatigable Adverſaries carried the Day from us; the Poiſon of the Jeſuits ſecur'd him paſt Recovery, by Preſents and other Means. His laſt Reſolutions were againſt our Trade and Settlement in his Country; and I myſelf, ſo courted and carreſs'd by him, was left to my Liberty to go or ſtay, as I pleaſed. And the Truth on it is, as my great Temptation to ſtay there, was the Hopes and Proſpect I had of doing my Country ſome Service; ſo when I had loſt thoſe Hopes, I had no ſmall Reaſon to be glad of a Diſcharge. For, beſides, the continual Dangers that threaten'd my Life, in a Country where ſo little Honour, Honeſty, or any Sort of Virtue was practiced; I had no Charm at all to bind me to this Place, from the Honours and Profits which his Majeſty had promiſed to heap upon me. 'Tis true, I was called the *Engliſh* Chan or Lord, but the Title wanted a proportionable Revenue to ſupport the Grandeur of it; and the *Engliſh* Lord, without the *Indian* Penſion to maintain him, was but a very poor Thing.

And this was punctually matter of Fact, that out of all that honourable Stipend which was at firſt aſſured to me, ſo much *per Ann.* I could never receive the full Value of 300*l.* the reſt being devoured by the hungry Courtiers, or injuriouſly detain'd by the Intrigues of ſome of my Enemies.

A little before Matters came to this Paſs, I had the happy News of three *Engliſh* Ships at the Bar of *Surat.* Theſe were under the Command of Sir *Henry Middleton,* and with them I reſolved to ſet Sail for *England.* And, indeed, I found it not ſo hard a Matter, by far, to go away in Quiet, as to live there in Peace, and without Diſturbance. For tho' I make no Queſtion, but the Jeſuits, and the reſt of my Adverſaries, would have been very glad to have prevented me by ſome fatal Plot, could they have had a fair Opportunity for the Execution of it: But not having that, they were glad to be rid of me upon any Terms, and counted it a conſiderable Point gained, to have removed out of the Midſt of them, a Perſon likely to do them ſo much Miſchief as I was.

So taking my Leave, I ſet out from *Agra, November* the 2d, and went directly to *Cambaya.* From hence I purſued my Journey towards the Place where the Ships lay, to which I came with all my Effects, *January* 26.

We ſet Sail out of this Harbour the 11th of *February*, and arrived at *Dabul* the 16th of the ſame Month. Here we took a *Portugueze* Ship and Frigate, and in them ſome Quantity of Goods, tho' too little to make Compenſation for the Wrongs we had received in *India* by their Means. We directed our Courſe from *Dabul* to the Red-ſea, having a juſt Quarrel with the *Turks*, and that Sort of People, to call us thither, and whom now we intended, in ſome Meaſure, to make ſenſible of the Diſpleaſure our Nation had ſo juſtly conceiv'd againſt them. Here we had the good Fortune to meet with three Ships of our own Country, which as we found, ſo we left there, directing our Courſe back again towards *India*, diſpatching ſome Buſineſs at *Teca* in *Sumatra*, and from thence to *Bantam*; by which Time the Year had almoſt finiſhed its Revolution, it being now the Month of *November*.

Sir *Henry Middleton* being obliged to ſtay here by the Neceſſities of Trade, I embark'd in another *Engliſh* Ship, *January* 15th, 1611, for my own native Country, from which I had been abſent five ſix Years.

The Voyage of Captain DAVID MIDDLETON, *(Brother to Sir* HENRY) *in the* Conſent, *a Ship of the Fleet, commanded by General* KEELING.

WE have already ſeen the Performances of the other Ships of this Fleet, in thoſe ſeveral Parts of the *Indies* to which they went: But the *Conſent* not being in Company of the reſt, we ſhall now enquire what was done by her abroad; what Advancement of Trade, what Diſcoveries, what kind or ill Treatment from Foreigners, ſhe brings us News of.

Captain *Middleton* came into the Bay of *Saldanna* a conſiderable Time before the reſt of the Fleet; it was the 16th of *July*, 1607; and they did not reach it till the ſucceeding *December*.

Here they ſtopt a few Days to enjoy the Pleaſures of the Place, and the Diverſions of its near Neighbour, *Penguin* Iſle. This Iſland is famous for the Product of thoſe Fowls from whence it has its Name; but they give us more ſtrange Accounts of the Multitudes of them, than we commonly have: That you may drive them along before you, 500 or more in a Flock; and the Seals in far greater Numbers all about upon the Shore.

But beſides theſe, you have wild Fowl of ſeveral Sorts, good Geeſe and Ducks, Pelicans too, and many others which they don't give us the Names of: So that no Man can want Sport, who goes thither for it; unleſs the too great Plenty of Game, prove ſomething of a Hindrance, and loſes the Pleaſure of ſearching out, and purſuing, which indeed is all the Life of the Exerciſe.

From hence they went on to the Coaſt of *India*, in all which Courſe we have nothing remarkable, as far as the Iſland *Juganas*, or *Eugano*, as ſome call it.

This Iſland they place in 5 ½ Deg. South Lat. and make the Variation there to be 4 Deg. 13 Min. It lies Eaſterly S. and W. and by N. and in five Leagues in Length, or thereabouts; the Eaſt End is much the higher Land, and the Weſtern woody and full of Trees.

They went away firſt of all for *Bantam*, where they diſcharged their Burden of Lead and Iron, and took on Board, in the Room of it, other Merchandize proper for the *Moluccas*.

Theſe rich Iſlands were next to be viſited by them; in order to which they ſet Sail for *Bantam*, De-

December the 6th. They had terrible Thunder and Lightning in this Paſſage, Rain, and all Sorts of Weather; rough and boiſterous Winds excepted. But that was their Advantage, and they had no Trouble or Danger on that Score; but ſailed on thro' all that Fury of the Weather very merrily, and well contented, that the Wind, the moſt dangerous Enemy of all, did not engage with the reſt againſt them. 'Twas ſo kind and favourable at that Time, as to be of their Side, affording them all along a briſk and ſteady Gale, by the Help of which they reach'd the *Moluccas* the Beginning of *January*.

The Account we have of their Proceedings at thoſe Iſlands, is very ſhort and imperfect. In general we find, that near two Months were ſpent in mere Ceremonies and Compliments between them, the *Spaniards*, and the *Moluccan* Princes.

'Tis true, this was better than fighting and wrangling all that while; and at firſt Sight it appears ſtrange, that the *Spaniards* ſhould be guilty of ſo much Civility and good Breeding towards the *Engliſh*, whom they uſed to treat after another Manner. But it is to be conſider'd, that in this long Interval, they were concerting Matters amongſt themſelves, to ſend them packing from thence. They were reſolved the *Engliſh* ſhould not trade there; but yet were unwilling to uſe Violence, to turn them away rudely. And therefore ſome plauſible Pretence muſt be made for their Diſmiſſion, or ſuch Conditions propos'd in order to their Stay, that they not being able to agree to, might, upon a Denial, be the more handſomely turn'd off. Now as this was the Caſe, it was as good to fall a complimenting in the mean Time, as not; there is no Charge in a few flattering Words, or a little diſſembling Carriage; but there is ſomething of Advantage in it, becauſe it is a compleat Cover for an ill and treacherous Deſign. The *Spaniards*, with all their Gravity, tell our Men, that they cannot admit them to trade, till the Camp-maſter has given Leave. And why then does not the Camp-maſter determine the Matter, and ſay Yes or No, plainly, without farther Delay? Why, becauſe he is contriving to do it more neatly and genteelly; that is, with more *Spaniſh* Ceremony and Circumlocution: 'Tis much the better Way to query and propoſe, to offer and make Conditions, (no Matter how impoſſible) than to come out with a peremptory Denial, and ſay, bluntly, you ſhall not trade here.

Now the Circumſtances of theſe Iſlands at that Time, furniſh'd Matter enough for this Way of proceeding: For the *Dutch* and they were up to the Ears in Broils and Quarrels, and nothing could be better than to propoſe to the *Engliſh* to come into the Quarrel too, and take their Parts againſt the *Dutch*. This they might eaſily gueſs was what their Commiſſion would not allow them to do; and for that Reaſon, it is ſuppoſed, the Propoſal was made. In ſhort, Captain *Middleton* poſitively refuſed it; and the *Spaniards* at the ſame Time deſired to be excuſed from granting him the Liberty of Trade. This was the Upſhot of the Buſineſs: And it was a pretty Concluſion to be uſher'd in with ſuch a Train of Compliments and Careſſes, and to lie in Hand from the Beginning of *January* till the Middle of *March*. 'Tis true, a free Trade was permitted at the Beginning of *March*; but that Liberty expired in a very few Days; thoſe favourable Orders were countermanded, and the *Engliſh* urged to be gone.

However, the Natives had a little more Kindneſs for them; and they made a Shift to drive a Trade with them unknown to the *Spaniards*. This was done under the Protection of the Night, ſo ſecretly, that the *Spaniards* had not the leaſt Suſpicion of it. Thus they went on till about the Middle of *March*, when the laſt Orders for their Removal came forth.

Leaving the *Moluccas*, they proceeded to the Streights of *Bangaya*. The People hereabouts were very fond of a Correſpondence with them, and by all the obliging Behaviour that could be, endeavour'd to procure it. They came with, at leaſt, 100 Praws, and brought them good Store of Proviſion, Hogs, Hens, Fiſh, freſh and dry, Plantanes, Caſſava Roots, and ſeveral Fruits beſides. They were very reaſonable in their Terms of Dealling, and deſired only coarſe Cloth and *China* Diſhes in Exchange for what they brought.

The King of *Botun* himſelf ſent them a Refreſhment, and earneſtly deſired Leave to come aboard. He had never ſeen any *Engliſhmen* in his Life, and now having a fair Opportunity, crav'd a Permiſſion to improve it for that Purpoſe.

This Requeſt the Captain eaſily granted, and the King quickly came up in his Carracol, rowed with at leaſt an hundred Oars, carrying 400 Men, well arm'd, and ſix Braſs Pieces. She had five more attending upon her, which had in all above 1000 Men more aboard them. The King was treated and preſented to his very great Satisfaction a Ship-board. In Return of which Kindneſſes, he made the Captain a Preſent of ſome of his Country Cloth, and very civilly invited him to *Botun*, promiſſing to ſend a Pilot to guide the Ship thither.

In the mean Time, one of the *Engliſh*, who had been ſent aſhore to get Proviſions, return'd with the News of his Entertainment by another *Indian* King, a Neighbour to him of *Botun*. This Prince had never ſeen any *Engliſh* neither; and ſome of his Subjects having brought this Perſon to him, he was wonderfully pleaſed at the Sight of him.

The Poſture our *Engliſhman* found him and his Nobles in, was ſomething odd. They were carouſing and drinking very hard together, and the Room all about them was beſet with dead Mens Heads. Theſe were the Trophies of a Victory newly obtain'd, and they were at that Time, as it were, juſt come out of the Field, reeking with the warm Blood of their Adverſaries. However, the *Engliſhman* had no farther Occaſion for ſad Thoughts than what the horrid Spectacle gave him; the King did not offer to ſet up his Head among the reſt; but after a kind and gentle Treatment, ſent him away in Safety.

The King of *Botun*'s Pilot being come, they ſet Sail for that Town, and came to Anchor before it *April* 22d. Here the King came out to bid them welcome, with his whole Fleet of Carracols, gallantly ſet out with Colours and Pendants; and on both Sides the ſmall Shot and Ordnance were briſkly diſcharged. The Captain was invited aſhore to dine with the King, where every Thing was done in the beſt Manner, according to the Faſhion of the Country. The Meat was ſerved up in great wooden Chargers; but tho' the Diſhes were homely and coarſe, yet the Proviſions were fine; and what was better than all, the Welcome hearty and ſincere. Their Liquor was only *Irea Pote*, a Drink of a very agreeable pleaſant Taſte; not heady and intoxicating, but ſufficient to revive the Spirits, give them a due Elevation, and anſwer all the Ends and Purpoſes of Drink.

And as the Captain was feaſted aſhore, ſo the King (and indeed the whole Royal Family) was again a Ship-board. They were ſeldom without one or other of them; ſo greedy were they of the Company of a People they had ſo long deſired, and could never ſee till then.

There was another neighbouring petty King, that hearing the News of the Arrival of the *Engliſh* at *Botun*, came with his whole Family to be a Spectator too. He rowed round the Ship in his Carracol, and viewed it and them with great Attention: But with all their kind Entreaties, and the Example of the King of *Botun* before his Eyes, he would not be perſuaded to come on board them.

As for the Buſineſs done here, the main Part ſeems to have been the getting a good Lading of Cloves. This was an accidental Bargain, they were brought into *Botun* with the *Javan* Veſſels, and the *Engliſh* being there at the Time, happily ſecured them for themſelves.

The King of *Botun* had before told them of ſome Quantities of Pearl he had by him, which they ſhould have the Refuſal of. But they do not tell us they bought them of him; nor yet that he bought any of their Cloths, tho' by the Account they give of his looking over that Commodity, and liking it very well, it is probable there was ſome Dealings betwixt them.

Having finiſhed all their Buſineſs here, they took Leave of this Prince (one of the faireſt and moſt juſt we have had any Dealings with in thoſe Parts) and ſet Sail for *Bantam*. They reach'd it *May* the 22d, and left it again *July* 15th, and ſet Sail for *England*.

The reſt of the Voyage homewards, is both barren and tedious; and therefore we ſhall excuſe the Reader from the Trouble of it, and without any farther Attendance upon the Ship, take one good Step quite croſs the Ocean from *Bantam* to *England.*

Sir HENRY MIDDLETON*'s Voyage, being the Sixth ſet forth by the* Eaſt-India *Company; extracted from Sir* HENRY*'s Letters and Journals.*

THIS Fleet conſiſted of three Ships, the *Trade's Increaſe*, of 1000 Tons, Admiral; the *Peppercorn*, of 250 Tons, Vice-Admiral; and the *Darling*, of 90; beſides a Victualling Bark of 180.

They ſet Sail in *May*, 1610, and coming to an Anchor in Cape *Verde*; we ſtaid there, ſays Sir *Henry*, ſome Time, to lay in a Recruit of freſh Water, and to repair the Defects in our Ship's Tacklings, having had ſome little Misfortunes of that Nature by the Way. And indeed, all Things conſider'd, I know not a more convenient Road for theſe Purpoſes: For beſides the Plenty of good freſh Fiſh, and the Advantage of watering here, 'tis very fit for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs, and is not at all out of the Way.

As for our Courſe from hence to the Line, we concluded with one Conſent, to ſail S. S. W. for about 60 Leagues, then to ſteer S. S. E. till we grew near the Line, and ſo to hale over Eaſterly.

By the latter End of *July*, we made the Bay of *Saldanna*, where we found the People as beaſtly and brutiſh as they are uſually repreſented, but not near ſo free and ready to trade as formerly. It was a hard Matter to perſuade them to bring any Cattle at all to us; and thoſe they did bring, were ſo old, tough, and lean, that it was almoſt as bad as faſting, to be obliged to eat them.

Beſides, old Iron was now no current Money amongſt them, and thoſe brave trading Days were over, when a Man could purchaſe a fat Ox, or two or three good Sheep, for an Iron Ring, or a few Hob-nails. Copper was, at this Time, all in all amongſt them, and they would take nothing but Pieces of this Metal, cut three or four, or ſix Inches Square; and one of theſe was the Price of a Sheep, which, conſidering what they were, was dear enough.

What the Reaſon of this Alteration ſhould be, is uncertain; whether thoſe plentiful Markets of Cattle they uſed to bring down from the Mountains, were Spoils taken from one another in Wars, and ſo they put them off to others as they took them themſelves: Which, if ſo, then 'tis probable, that the Reaſon why they ſo highly valued Iron in thoſe Days, was its Uſefulneſs in heading their Darts and Launces, and conſequently that it grew out of Requeſt among them, when a general Peace was made, and their murdering Weapons laid aſide. Or 'tis poſſible, that the *Dutch*, by their over-great Liberality, may have help'd to ſpoil the Trade here: For as 'tis their Humour to conſider only their own preſent Occaſions, without any Regard to the Advantage or Intereſt of thoſe that are to come after them; ſo 'tis likely, that by giving theſe People extravagant Rates for their Commodities, they have taught them how to expect and in-

inſiſt upon the ſame with all other Cuſtomers: They have more than once ſpoil'd the Trade ſo in other Places, and 'tis not incredible that they ſhould do ſo here.

We reckon the Bay of *Saldanna* to lie ſome 14 Leagues N. N. E. from the *Cape of Good Hope*, and 10 Leagues N. by W. from Cape *Falſo*; both which Capes may be ſeen pretty plainly out of the Bay. But the two Capes are parted alſo by another great Bay, which is diſtant from that of *Saldanna*, about three Leagues; and all the Ground between is low, marſhy, and plaſhy, the Effect, perhaps, of the Water brought off from the Mountains that ſtand of either Side. Let a Ship, when ſhe comes in for the Bay of *Saldanna*, bring the Northern Point of it to bear W. N. W. — N. W. and by W. thwart the Ledge of Rocks, near the Shore (which will then be laid in the Swamp, as it were between the Table and the Sugar-loaf) and ſhe may find good Anchor-hold, in four, five, or ſix Fathoms, according to her Draught.

'Tis worthy of Obſervation too, that the main Land, tho' it be 13 Leagues diſtant, yet runs away ſo to the W. and by W. that there is little more than three Points open to let in the N. W. Sea, which is always here the moſt ſtormy and troubleſome. There's good Fiſhing about the Bay for Millets, (or a Fiſh very like them) Smelts, Thornbacks, Dogs, and a ſmall Sort of Whales; and all about the Rocks, Lampets and Muſſels in Abundance. We obſerved a Sort of Tree growing hereabout, that bears a Fruit in Bigneſs and Form reſembling a Pine-apple; the Seeds of which were all entirely eaten out of the Huſk, by the Birds, and the Huſks left in their natural Order upon the Tree. Theſe Huſks were more ſoft and ſpongy than thoſe of a Pine-apple, tho' otherwiſe like them. The Tree itſelf is low, and ſpreads itſelf into a conſiderable Breadth at Top, and the Leaves of it are like our *Engliſh* Houſeleek, only not quite ſo thick.

We ſet Sail from hence, directing our Courſe to the Iſle of *Madagaſcar*, and anchor'd in *St. Auguſtine*'s Bay. The People of the Country uſed us in the ſame Manner as they of *Saldanna* did; and had they not been at ſo great a Diſtance, one would have thought they had made a Bargain to ſtarve all the *Engliſh* Ships that came into thoſe Roads. They are a ſtout hardy People, fit for War, and ſaid to have ſome Skill in martial Diſcipline; but exceſſively treacherous and falſe; ſo that whoever comes among them, ought always to be on his Guard.

Beſides the Tamarind-trees, which are here in great Plenty, there is a Sort of Tree, whoſe Timber is hard and firm as *Lignum Vitæ*, very white, and carries a ſmall brown Pith in the Middle of it; whether it be any Kind of White-ſanders, I cannot tell. Here is alſo a Plant very like the *Sempervive*, and, perhaps, would yield as good an Aloes as that does.

Sailing from hence towards the Line again, we met with ſeveral Currents, which put us out conſiderably in the Reckoning of the Ship's Way and Motion. We came to Anchor in a ſandy Bay, in the Iſle of *Zocotora*, where we met with ſuch Plenty of Fiſh, as greatly refreſhed our Fleet.

From this Bay we put into the Road of *Tamerin*, the principal City of the Iſland, and ordinary Reſidence of the King. 'Tis ſeated at the Foot of ſeveral high ragged Hills, has a Caſtle, and the King's Palace ſtands upon the Top of one of the Hills over-looking the Town. The Latitude here is 12 Deg. 30 Min. the Variation of the Compaſs 19 Deg. 18 Min. and the Road lies all open between E. by N. and W. N. W. I ſent ſome of my Men aſhore with a handſome Preſent to the King, which he very kindly accepted, and in Return ſent me back a Preſent of Goats, with a hearty Welcome to his Country, and an Invitation to come aſhore and ſee him.

When I landed, I was received with a Diſcharge of his great Guns, and conducted in the beſt Sort to his Court, where I believe every Thing was contrived to make as good a Shew, and to give me as great an Idea of the Grandeur of this little Prince as might be. The Entertainment I had there, was as good as the Suddenneſs of the Occaſion would permit. His Deportment towards me, was free, civil, and obliging, conſidering the violent Prejudices of the *Mahometans*, for the moſt Part, the *Arabians* eſpecially, not only againſt the Principles, but the Perſons and Converſation of Chriſtians.

I could procure no Aloes of him, for that was all ſent away before (as he alledged) to his Father, the King of *Tartack*, in *Arabia Felix*; under whom indeed, he was no more than a Viceroy in this little Kingdom of *Zocotora*. He granted us free Liberty to take what Water we had Occaſion for here, and (which is a Favour not granted to other Nations) without paying for it. But Wood is a very ſcarce Commodity in thoſe Parts, with which he could not furniſh us without ready Money, and muſt give a great Rate for it.

Indeed, the whole Iſland is nothing but a Lump of Rocks and Cliffs, and there's hardly any Room for Timber-trees to grow, 'tis all ſo filled up with Stones, and a hard barren Earth, and almoſt unfit for the Nouriſhment of any Sort of Vegetables. I know of none of any Significancy, but the Plant that yields the Aloes, and the Shrub, or Tree, whoſe Tear is that Drug, which we call *Sanguis Draconis*, or *Dragon's Blood*; and then the Date-trees, which afford them their chiefeſt Suſtenance. The Date-trees, indeed, are pretty numerous, for they make the beſt of their Bread of that Fruit. As for the others, the whole Iſland affords no more than about a Ton of Aloes in a Year, and a very inconſiderable Quantity of *Sanguis Draconis*.

The Animals here are ſcarce worth a Mention, except it be for the Fewneſs and Meanneſs of them; they are as ſorry as the Country that breeds them, and ſhew the Poverty of the Soil they live on, by the Dwarfiſhneſs of their own Bulk and Stature: And yet they are dear Penniworths to thoſe who have a Fancy to buy them; for a Cow goes at twelve Rials of Eight, a Goat at one, Sheep and Hens at half a Rial a-piece. As for the Dates, there's no having them under 12 Rials *per Cent.* and a Parcel of Wood, as much as an ordinary Man's Burden, is valued at 1*s.* and would certainly, inſtead of that, be at 1*l.* if *Zocotora*, with that Scarcity of Wood, lay as far from the Line as *England* does.

The King ſees the Selling of all Commodities himſelf, that any Strangers trade for upon this Iſland; he it is that ſets the Price, and drives the Bargain, not leaving it to the Fidelity of any of his People, but paſſing all thro' his own Hands. Nay, none of his Subjects dare hold any Correſpondence with Foreigners, or ſo much as ſpeak to them, till he has had Intelligence of them, and began the Correſpondence himſelf. Indeed he has little to do with any but the *Arabs*, who compoſe his Guards, his Court, his Nobility, and are all in all about him; for as to the Natives of the

Iſland, they are Slaves to the domineering *Arabs*, and live ſkulking up and down where they can find a ſure Retreat, like ſo many Outlaws, or Perſons baniſh'd, even in their own Country. But neither *Arabs*, nor any other, dare begin any Diſcourſe, much leſs trade with Strangers, till he has had Notice of their Arrival, and performed the Ceremony of bidding them Welcome.

He highly commended to us the Trade of the Red Sea, and the People of *Aden* and *Moha*, for their civil Carriage to Strangers, and fair Dealing in all their Traffick. And this was ſo far a Motive to us, that, having loſt our Seaſon for going to *Cambaya*, becauſe the Eaſterly Monſon was already come, we concluded to go and viſit their trading Towns upon the Red Sea, and make ſome Experiments of the good Humour of the People: Tho' as Matters afterwards fell out, we had better have taken his Word for it, than to have gone thither to try it ourſelves. Whether this *Arabian* had any Deſign upon us or no, I know not; this, however, is certain, that his Accounts of theſe Places were all falſe, and that in Purſuance of his Advice, we fell into the greateſt Miſeries that, perhaps, any Chriſtians ever endur'd in thoſe Parts.

Having bid Adieu to *Zocotora*, we had not failed far before we had Sight of the towering Rocks and Mountains of *Abba del Curia*. This is a ragged Iſland, ſome five Leagues in Length E. and W. ſubject to the King of *Zocotora*, remarkable for the two great white Rocks that ſtand near one another, at the Northern Part of it; and which raiſing up their Heads to a mighty Height above the reſt, diſcover themſelves a good Way off at Sea. We anchor'd 14 Leagues from the Weſtern Point of *Zocotora*, to the Eaſtern Point of this Iſland, *Abba del Caria*; and from the Weſtern End of that, 15 Leagues more to the Cape of *Guadarfui*, which is the Eaſtern Point of the Kingdom of *Adel*, which lies on the *African* Side.

A few Days Sailing here, gave us a Proſpect of the Coaſt of *Arabia Felix*, which appear'd barren, mountainous and rugged, without Shew of Woods, or Fields, or any delightful Green. And as we now quickly expected to have a Proſpect of the City of *Aden*, a Current ſet us ſo far out of our Way, that when we fell with the Land, we found ourſelves no leſs than ſixty Leagues ſhort of that Place; but yet ſail'd along the Coaſt without Danger, having from eight to twenty-five Fathom Water, till we came up with it. The City itſelf ſtands in a Bottom, under the Cover and Protection of a Mountain; yet notwithſtanding this diſadvantageous Situation, it makes a pretty handſome Appearance. 'Tis encompaſſed with a good Stone-wall, defended in many Places with Forts and Bulwarks; and if well furniſhed with Ammunition, and ſtock'd with bold reſolute Soldiers, is certainly a Place capable of maintaining its Liberty againſt a very great Power. It may, indeed, ſeem to lie ſomething open to the Sea-ward, it being quite dry there at Low-water; but then Nature and Art have both conſulted to keep out the Danger that threatens to come that Way: For a Couple of Rocks are lying there, one of which is bigger than the Tower of *London*, and ſo horribly ragged and full of Cliffs, and little Precipices, that 'tis impoſſible to be aſcended, but in one particular Part of it; and there the Path is ſo very narrow, and ſo ſteep too, that half a dozen Men may defend it againſt a whole Army.

But then add to the Strength and Impregnableneſs of theſe two natural Forts, that Art and Induſtry has made, the Forts and Batteries rais'd about them, which are well furniſhed with all Sorts of Ammunition; and the Place ſeems ſo well guarded, as not ſo much to need the Help of the Sea to ſecure it on that Side. This City is ſupplied with Proviſion, partly from the neighbouring Parts of *Arabia*, and thoſe of *Africa*, oppoſite to it on the other Side the Streight. There is a continual Trade and Correſpondence between it and the Town of *Barbora*, which ſtands juſt over-againſt it in the Kingom of *Adel*: And from hence they bring to *Aden*, Cattle, Fruit, Incenſe, Myrrh, and ſome better Commodities, tho' as yet to be conceal'd, till better Information is gotten of the Truth of it.

The Latitude of this Place, I reckon to be 12 Deg. 35 Min. Northerly; the Variation of the Compaſs, 12 Deg. 40 Min. Weſternly. The Water riſes at the Port, ſix or ſeven Foot upright upon the Change-day, and a S. E. by E. or N. W. by W. Moon, makes a full Sea. Here we had News of Captain *Sharpeigh*, who was at this Place the Year before, and traded both here and at *Moha*; and whatever Entertainment he had, we were made believe ours ſhould be extraordinary. They told us, if we were *Engliſhmen*, we were moſt heartily welcome, and ſhould meet with as kind and civil Uſage in theſe Parts, as at any other Place where our Nation traded. That the Baſha, who govern'd here at preſent, was a more eaſy and affable Man than the former: And as for a Trade, we need not at all queſtion it, eſpecially at *Moha*, where there was a great Merchant reſided, who would himſelf, if other Cuſtomers fail'd, take off all the Goods we had brought.

They were very deſirous to have one of the Ships left in the Port to trade with their Town, while the other two went to *Moha*; promiſing to buy all ſhe had aboard, let it be ever ſo much: Which upon

Conſideration I yielded to, leaving the *Pepper-corn*, and took the *Darling* to bear me Company to *Moha*.

I was forced to attempt this Paſſage without any Pilot to aſſiſt me, becauſe I plainly ſaw, they had no Mind I ſhould have any; and it would have been to no Purpoſe to have ſpent Time in waiting upon a Pack of Miſcreants that value no Promiſes they make, and think of their Words no longer than they are ſpeaking of them. I ſuppoſe they had a Mind I ſhould fall foul upon ſome Rocks or Sands, in my Paſſage to *Moha*, that ſo being ſwallow'd up of the Sea, they might with the more Eaſe and Security ſwallow up the rich Ship left in the Port. It could be for no other Reaſon but this, that they ſhould ſo often (as they did) promiſe me a Pilot, and yet never ſent me any.

Now the greateſt Difficulty we had to encounter, was that in paſſing well the Streight of *Babelmandel*, which is about three Leagues diſtant from *Aden*. We ſteer'd along the Land ſometimes W. S. W. and W. by N. in 28 and 30 Fathom Water, obſerving all the Coaſt as we paſt to be high Ground, and ſhooting out into the Sea with many Headlands. We continued moſtly the ſame Courſe, haling along the Land all that Night, and next Day, betimes, ſaw the great Head-land running into the Red Sea, riſing up like an Iſland, and about Noon, got acroſs the Streight. It is not above three Miles broad, and the Depth between eight and eleven Fathoms; on the North-ſide lies an uneven ragged Land like an Iſland; and on the South, a flat low Iſland called *Babelmandel*, which gives Name to the Streight; to the Southward of which Iſland there ſeems to be a broad Entrance, or Channel.

The ſame Day we had Sight of the Town of *Moha*; and preſently thereupon (as if our Misfortunes muſt begin with the Proſpect of that Place, afterwards ſo fatal to us) my Ship was run aground: Whether by the Unſkilfulneſs or Treachery of my two *Arabian* Pilots, I cannot tell; for I had pick'd up a Couple out of a ſmall Village by the Way, near the Streight of *Babelmandel*, and under their Conduct (poſſibly by their Contrivance) this came to paſs. However, if it was a Plot to ruin me, it did not take Effect; for as it pleaſed Providence, we brought the Ship off again ſafe and ſound, to our very great Comfort. Being come thither, we had all the kind Salutations, and joyful Welcomes imaginable. The *Aga* ſent to compliment me aboard, and gave me full Aſſurance of as free, quiet, and good Trade here, as at *Aleppo*, *Conſtantinople*, or any other Part of the *Turk*'s Dominions.

I was earneſtly deſired to come aſhore, to have better Proofs of their Civility and Reſpect than I could have at that Diſtance; and at my Landing, was received by all the great Men of the Town, and was conducted with Muſic and other Expreſſions of Pomp and public Joy to the *Aga*'s Palace.

Here I delivered his Majeſty's Letter and Preſent for the Baſha, and alſo one to the Aga himſelf; upon which (after a ſolemn Renewal of the Promiſes before made, relating to our Trade and Security there) I had the rich Veſt of Crimſon and Silver put upon me, as a Mark of the Grand Signior's Favour and Protection. In this Dreſs I was carried through the Streets on Horſe-back, ſet out with a very ſplendid Equipage, and ſo triumphantly deliver'd in at the *Engliſh* Houſe in that Town.

Yet in all the Heights of this Careſs (as it appear'd by the Sequel) they acted in the greateſt Contrariety that could be, to their own inward Thoughts and Sentiments. But the *Turks*, who are inferior to none in the Arts of Diſſimulation, did all with ſuch an Air of Friendſhip and cordial Love; they acted their Parts ſo very finely, that it was impoſſible for the moſt diſcerning Eye to ſee any Thing but Sincerity in that outward Deportment. But it was not long before they threw off the Diſguiſe, and appeared like themſelves: They quickly paſſed from one Extreme to the other, from the Height of Compliment and flattering Reſpect, to the laſt Degree of Outrage and barbarous Inſult. Without the leaſt Appearance of a foregoing Coldneſs and Indifference, any ſuſpicious Token, or Symptom of ſuch a Change; and I am ſure, without the leaſt Occaſion from us, they roſe upon us with one Conſent, beſet our Houſe, and fell to knocking on the Head thoſe of us that were without Doors, as faſt as they could. I, myſelf, felt their Fury amongſt the reſt, being left for dead on the Ground in the Scuffle; and beſides pillaged of all the Money, Rings, and valuable Matters I had about me.

At the ſame Time that they aſſaulted us aſhore they made an Attempt upon one of our Ships, which was moſt within their Reach; but tho' they made a Shift to get their cut-throat *Turks* aboard her, yet they could not keep Poſſeſſion of her, our Men blowing them up with a Barrel of Gun-powder, without any Prejudice to themſelves.

We that eſcaped with our Lives were manacled like ſo many Slaves, and ſo led in that baſe and diſgraceful Manner away to the Aga, by whom I had been received with ſo much Honour but juſt before. And now the *Turk* had put on another

Face, and his Stile was altered too as much as his Looks. Now, inſtead of a ceremonious Welcome, and a Set of highflown *Turkiſh* Compliments, I was roughly demanded what I had to do to come thither; and how a polluted Chriſtian durſt be ſo bold as to offer to ſet his Foot upon that Country, where the City of their holy Prophet ſtood? But the Burthen of the Song was, that I ſhould write to my Men aboard the great Ship to perſuade them to come all aſhore, and yield themſelves and the Ship into his Hands, and he would let us have a leſſer Ship to carry us home again. But as I had Proof enough of his Conſcience and Courteſy to be a ſufficient Security for my ever truſting to either again, ſo I did, by a ſcornful rejecting of his Propoſal, give him to underſtand, that I thought it as ridiculous, as I did him impudent, for the making of it; and that I would never purchaſe my Freedom from his Chains, with the Loſs of my Honour and Honeſty to thoſe who had entruſted me. 'Tis true, he enforced his Perſuaſions with an Argument very cogent in ſome Circumſtances, but in my unhappy State it was of no Power at all: He threatened, if I did not comply, he would take away my Head; but the Loſs of that was not great enough to move me, having loſt that which was more valuable than Life before. So I was carried out of his Preſence loaded with heavy Fetters and Iron Shackles, to a filthy Dungeon, where the vileſt Malefactor would hardly have been beſtowed, and into which it was as bad as an Execution to go. But at the Interceſſion of the Conſul of the *Bannians*, my Lodging was changed; and I had the Favour to be removed into another Hole, where I had a dry, tho' a hard Floor for my Bed, a great Stone for my Pillow, and good Store of Rats and Mice to keep me Company.

In this Diſtreſs I was very often viſited by the Aga, whoſe Buſineſs being to tempt me to betray my Truſt, made his Preſence more hateful to me than any of the Vermin of the Dungeon.

It was a great Mortification to him to hear our Ships were ſo well provided with Victuals, and that they had Stock enough for two Years; for he expected that Neceſſity would have brought them into his Hands, ſince he knew they could not have a Wind to get off till the ſucceeding *May*; but I knew that it was a Matter of Fact, and it was no ſmall Comfort to me in my Misfortunes, that they were ſo happily out of the treacherous Villain's Reach. My Men aboard too had the Comfort to hear I was alive, contrary to the firſt Report ſpread about, that we were all cut off.

There was ſome Intercourſe alſo between us to our mutual Satisfaction, by the good Conduct and Courage of one of them, who boldly ventured his Life and Liberty to come and ſee me, and was permitted by the *Turks* ſo to do, hoping to make their own Advantage of it. Now whilſt I lay here, continually expecting the laſt Scene of my Tragedy, ſome Officers came to Town from the Baſha, with Orders to bring me up to him. This I knew to be but a Remove from one Dungeon to another, and only a Change of Place, but not of Condition and Circumſtance to me. The Baſha was a bigger Man than the Aga in his Quality and Figure, but of the ſame Size exactly as to Conſcience and Honeſty; and as to the Point of good Uſage, it was not a Farthing Matter, whether I was in the Hands of the Knave the Maſter, or the Knave the Servant. However, to breathe the freſh and pure Air, after the noiſome Stench of a Dungeon, was ſome Advantage; and it was better to be upon the Road for a few Days, than to lie immured the ſame Time in a Receptacle of Vermin.

We ſet out from *Moha* the latter End of *December*, being 35 of us in all, who were to make our Appearance before the Baſha at *Zenan*. This City is the principal one of that Part of *Arabia Felix*, diſtant 180 Miles from *Moha*, to the N. N. W. and 16 Deg. 15 Min. North Lat. Several of our Friends among the *Turks* and *Arabians* themſelves, who had expreſſed a generous Compaſſion for me in my Confinement, and daily refreſhed me with their Kindneſs, did, at our Departure, expreſs the like by their friendly Farewels, and hearty Wiſhes for our good Succeſs at *Zenan*; and particularly by their Letters to the great Men about the Baſha on our Behalf. Nay, one of them, (the Conſul of the *Bannians)* went thither a little before us, on Purpoſe to mollify the rough Temper of the Baſha, and to act the Part of a Mediator for us. The moſt remarkable Obſervations which occurred in our Way to *Zenan*, was that of the Cold we felt; which was indeed ſo extreme and piercing, that I think we had all been ſtarved to Death, if we had not been well provided with Fur-Gowns. The Air was pretty tolerable and moderate, till after we had paſſed the City of *Tayes*, which is four Day's Journey from *Moha*; but between that and *Zenan* it was ſo ſevere, that being forced to lie upon the bare Ground too, had it not been for the Defence of our Cloathing, I believe the Cold would have made us too ſtiff to have ſhewn our *Engliſh* Breeding in bowing and ſcraping to the Baſha when we got to him. And in *Zenan* itſelf we had the Ground covered every Morning with a hoary Froſt, and Ice of a Finger-thick in one Night's Freezing; and all this while we were under the *Torrid Zone*; and tho it is true the Sun was then on the other Side of the Line in the South Half of the *Torrid Zone*, yet I ſhould ſcarce have believed that the Cold was ſo extreme in thoſe Parts that lie directly in his Road, if I had not by both theſe Senſes had ſuch convincing Demonſtrations of it.

The *Turks* led us into *Zenan* with a great deal of Triumph, and the Aga marched by us in a very ſtately Manner, as if he had done ſome very heroic Action in betraying and leading us Priſoners, that had neither Arms, nor Warning, to defend ourſelves againſt his Treachery, as if we had been the Relicks of ſome conquered Army, and were brought out of a bloody Field, where the Fate of a whole Kingdom had been determined by the Valour and Conduct of this mighty Man; ſo were we brought into the City, and ſtared at by the Mob of *Turks* and *Arabians*. And the Baſha, to contribute too to the gracing of this fooliſh Scene, ſent out Shots, Drums, and Trumpets to meet us; lin'd all the Way to the Caſtle with Soldiers, and got all his great Men together about him. No leſs than the whole Divan being aſſembled together upon this Occaſion.

When I came into the Room of Preſence (which was a ſtately long Gallery, ſpread from one End to the other with *Turky* Carpets, and as full of grave Counſellors as ever it could hold) I found the haughty *Turk* ſitting in Kingly-ſtate at the upper End of it, threatening no leſs than Death to me and all my Company in his terrible ſurly Looks, and his Eyes ſparkling with Fury and Indignation againſt us. His Stile and Diſcourſe were no leſs lofty and imperious than his Looks; and I had little from him but ſuch Sort of rude and barbarous Queſtions, as I had from his good Servant the

Aga. He told me, however, at laſt, that the Aga had done what he did by his Orders, and that they came directly from *Conſtantinople*, and it was the Grand Signior's Pleaſure, that all Chrſtians that came into thoſe Parts, ſhould be treated in this Manner; and therefore, ſince we were come upon that forbidden Ground, our Lives and Fortunes were at his Maſter's Diſpoſal, and we muſt wait till Orders came from Court, either to execute, enſlave, or diſcharge us. This was our Sentence, which when paſt, we were ordered to our ſeveral Places of Confinement; my Men to the common Priſon, and myſelf to one a little better in the Keeper's Houſe. 'Tis true, the Baſha was not ſo great, his Air ſo ſtern and ſour, nor his Words ſo terrifying, but I had Preſence enough to interpoſe and argue what I thought convenient, as well in our Defence, as Reflections upon the ſcandalous Treachery of the Aga. But Innocence could be no Protection here, any more than Breach of Faith and Truth Crime, and the Baſha and his Aga were ſo cloſely link'd together in the Villainy, that the one muſt of Neceſſity defend what the other had done. Yet I think they ought both to have ſpared the Grand Signior's Reputation, and not to have brought him in for Snacks in the Scandal of their own private Knaveries. They muſt rob Ships, cut Throats, pillage, plunder, and impriſon Strangers, and violate all the Laws and Cuſtoms of Nations, even thoſe that are ſacred among the moſt barbarous; and then upon the Pretence of our being Chriſtians, throw all upon the Grand Signior's Orders, which is to compliment him with the Title of Patron to Thieves and Villains, and make him ſo much worſe than themſelves, as his Character and Figure is greater. And I make no Queſtion, but that (as we were then in ſtrict Amity with the Porte) the barbarous Orders to uſe us ſo, would have been publickly diſavowed there, if the Matter had been fairly repreſented; and theſe Actions would have coſt the proud Baſha his Place and Honours, if not his Head.

While we continued in theſe Circumſtances at *Zenan*, there were divers of the great Men about the Baſha, who continually did us very good Offices with him, and labour'd moſt heartily for our Releaſe. The moſt conſiderable of theſe were the *Caya Baſſa*, the Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, the Conſul of the *Bannians*, and one or two more *Arabian* Merchants; to every one of whom I muſt acknowledge a perpetual Obligation. Theſe gave me to underſtand (when I had been there eight or ten Days) that when the reſt of our Company, now expected, were come to *Zenan*, we ſhould be all ſent back again to *Moba*. And after the Arrival of this Part of our Company, the Baſha himſelf (before whom I was order'd to appear) confirm'd this News to me, and told me we ſhould all return to *Moba*, and Part of us ſhould go on Board preſently, but myſelf and twenty-nine more ſhould be detain'd till all the Ships of *India* were come in, and then we ſhould have our full Diſcharge too.

As for our Goods, he alledged, he could not make a Surrender of them, for they were all put up to the Grand Signior's Account, and ſo was our Pinnace too, and therefore out of his Power to redeliver; but all other Things belonging to us ſhould be reſtored, and our Liberty ſhould be infallibly inſur'd when the Time he had fixed for our Stay was expir'd.

About the Middle of the ſucceeding Month, the Time came on for our Departure for *Moha*, and I went to take my Leave of the Baſha, but a little before exalted to the high Dignity of a Vizer. His Pride being increaſed together with his Honour, he commanded me in a very imperious Manner to look to it, that neither I, nor any of my Nation come any more into theſe Parts; and it is certain he might have ſaved himſelf the Trouble of giving that Command, ſince no Man that had once been there, and ſo entertained, could ever be fond of coming the ſecond Time amongſt a Pack of ſuch inhuman Barbarians as they were. But when I begged on Behalf of my Nation, that, if any of their Ships ſhould happen to come into thoſe Parts, before Notice could be given to *England* of the Prohibition, they might not be betray'd as we had been; but was plainly told, that they muſt not come there; and he as plainly refuſed that they ſhould have any ſuch Warning; which was a ſufficient Proof of a baſe Deſign, and that he intended more the Plunder of the Ships, than to ſhew his Reſpect to the Grand Signior's Orders, which were to keep them from coming to trade there.

The City of *Zenan* is conſiderable for its Largeneſs, being ſomething bigger than our City of *Briſtol*, and ſtrongly built, for the moſt Part, with Stone and Lime. The Wall that ſurrounds it, is, indeed of Earth, but it is ſtrengthened with Turrets in every Part of it, by which Means it is made a ſubſtantial Defence to the City. Beſides, there are two good Caſtles, one to the North Side, ſituated upon a Hill, which over-looks the Town, and defends that Part from the wild Mountain People, that uſed to annoy it from thence; and another to the Eaſt Side, which is the Baſha's Palace, and incloſed with ſeveral Walls with Turrets and

Battlements. 'Tis ſeated in a barren ſtony Valley, and has not a Drop of Water, but what is fetched out of the Wells, which are extremely deep. And as for Wood, it is as ſcarce and dear here as at *Socotora*; and yet, I am ſure, the pinching Cold requires no little Plenty all here-abouts. Adjoining to the Walls of the Baſha's Caſtle, is a large and ſpacious Yard, where abundance of Women and Children are kept as Pledges and Securities for the good and peaceable Behaviour of their Huſbands and Fathers under the *Turkiſh* Government.

Within Sight of this Place was my Priſon, which I was now glad to take Leave of, and ſet out with my Company for *Moha*. The *Turks* have erected ſeveral Public-Houſes or Inns for the Reception of Travellers upon the Road; there are five or ſix of them between *Zenan* and *Moha*, and they are built and maintained altogether at the Grand Signior's Charge. The moſt remarkable Places that we paſſed through in our Journey (for now we had a little more Heart as well as Leiſure to make Obſervations than the firſt Time we went this Road) were theſe that follow.

Damare, which is about 40 Miles from *Zenan*, is a Town prettily built of Lime and Stone, and divided into five ſeveral Parts, which ſtand at ſome Diſtance from one another, like ſo many diſtant Towns. This Place is ſituated in a ſweet and fruitful Plain, and has the Bleſſing of Water, and all Sorts of Grain in great Plenty, being a Kind of Storehouſe, from whence the poorer neighbouring Places drew the beſt Part of their Suſtenance.

Tayes is a conſiderable City too, being half as big as *Zenan*, and fenced with a Mud-Wall, as moſt of the Cities of *Arabia* are. It is hemmed in on every Side with very high Hills, one of which has a fair ſtrong Caſtle upon the Top of it. It is good travelling here-abouts, all Sorts of Proviſions being very cheap; and the Country, it is ſaid, yields ſome Quantity of Indigo.

Euſras is a little Town not far from *Tayes*, remarkable only for the Burying-Place of ſome celebrated *Arabian* or *Turkiſh* Saint, whoſe Tomb here is viſited every 5th of *January* by a vaſt Multitude of devout Pilgrims and People of all Sorts. This religious Company, after they have performed ſome ſuperſtitious idle Ceremonies here, all jog away together to viſit the Holy City of *Meccha*.

Mouſa is a Town not great, but very populous, about a Day's Journey from *Moha*, the Country about which alſo yields ſome Store of Indigo. And indeed all the Country our Travels led us thro' was very populous, and thoſe Towns that wanted good Houſes were far from wanting Inhabitants to fill them. The *Arabs* dwell with the *Turks* in all the plain and open Country, and the *Turks* are Maſters in moſt of thoſe Places, as well as in the Maritime Towns: But in the Hilly Country the *Arabs* are abſolute Lords; they deſpiſe the *Turkiſh* Power, and ſcorn the Yoke laid upon the reſt of the Country, and a *Turk* dares not travel there without a Paſs from the *Arabian* Governor, in whoſe Territories he is.

Our next Stage was, from this Town of *Mouſa* to *Moha*, a Place too well known to us, in reſpect of the many Diſtreſſes we underwent there. The common Sort of People in general diſcovered a very great Satisfaction at our ſafe Return; and the diſſembling Aga himſelf, who thought he could do no leſs than congratulate us upon this Occaſion, did it with all the counterfeit Joy and Proteſtation of his Innocence that could be imagin'd. He treated us, careſs'd us at all the public Feaſts, fawn'd and flatter'd as he uſed to do; ſwore upon the Alchoran before a numerous Aſſembly, that his Heart was always clear of Malice and Prejudice, and ever ſhould be filled with Love and Kindneſs for us. This Town of *Moha*, which is one of the *Turkiſh* Keys to *Arabia Felix*, is not above one ſixth Part ſo big as *Zenan*. 'Tis a very populous Town, but wholly without the Defence of Walls, and has an ugly Situation in a ſalt, ſandy, barren Soil, cloſe by the Sea-ſide. All Boats that bring any Goods aſhore, are enjoin'd to land at the Key cloſe by the Governor's Houſe, where they are overlook'd and watch'd, ſo that there's no ſtealing of Cuſtom. Juſt by this Key there's a Platform, upon which are planted about a dozen Braſs Pieces, and at the Weſtern End of the Town, there's a Fort furniſh'd with the like Number of Ordnance; and this is all their Strength.

Quickly after our Return to *Moha*, the *Darling* came into the Road, and brought me News of the good Condition of my two other Ships; and now according to the Agreement made with the Baſha, I ſhipped all my Company appointed for that Purpoſe aboard the *Darling*. I myſelf, and twenty-nine more, were to ſtay behind till the *Indian* Ships were all ſafe come into the Road; which they doubted would be endangered by us, ſhould they ſend me away to Sea before.

The *Darling* having got her Company, ſailed off to the other two Ships of our Fleet, which lay in a good ſecure Road upon the *Abyſſinian* Coaſt. This Road they had found out in the Time of my Impriſonment at *Moha*; the Name of it was *Aſſab* Road, and it afforded them as much Wood and

Water as they could ever need or deſire, and that at no dearer Rate than the Labour of fetching it.

The People there are as black as the Negros of *Guinea*; they are *Mahometans* on the Sea-Coaſt, but up in the main Land, *Chriſtians*, and Subjects to *Preſter-John*. As for theſe Borderers on the Sea, they go all naked, except a ſmall Cloth about their Waiſts. They were mighty free and forward to trade with our Ships, (tho' the *Turks* did what they could to prevent their mutual Correſpondence) bringing great Numbers of Oxen, Sheep, and Goats, which they ſold at very reaſonable Rates; firſt for dry Money, and afterwards for coarſe Calicos, by Way of Truck; which Commodity they were more fond of than Money itſelf. Tho' the better Sort of them both ſpeak and write the *Arabic* Language, yet their own vulgar Speech is vaſtly different from it, and not at all underſtood by the *Arabians* their Neighbours.

Their King has his ordinary Reſidence at a Sea-port Town, called *Rahaita*, lying to the Southward, towards the Streights of *Babelmandel*. He ſent ſome of his principal Men with Preſents to our Ships, and to make them Offer of any Thing his Country afforded. I was very glad my Ships were in ſuch good Circumſtances, and lay ſo ſecurely at that little Diſtance from me; as alſo, that the Work of our Deliverance was ſo far gone on, as that a Part of my Company was actually at Liberty aboard their own Ship.

But now I began to think ſeriouſly and heartily how to accompliſh my own Eſcape alſo, together with the reſt of my Company, out of this Neſt of barbarous Infidels. 'Tis true, by the Baſha's Order, we were to ſtay till the Ships from *India* were come in; but that was, if we could not get away before: And I had no Scruple of Conſcience at all in the Matter, of attempting to make my Eſcape before the Time prefixed came. For as it was the higheſt Degree of Violence and Injuſtice in him to ſeize and detain me in that Manner; ſo it was juſt and natural for me, or any Man in ſuch a Circumſtance, to endeavour to free himſelf from the Wrong and Injury that's done him as ſoon as he can. Liberty is a Privilege granted by Nature, and I enjoy it as a Man; and to aſſert the Rights that belong to me in that Capacity, is agreeable to Reaſon and the Law of Nature.

But the Difficulties of bringing this Project to bear, were far harder to be removed, than any Scruples of Conſcience concerning the Probity of it. And if I could but once have accompliſh'd the Thing, I would have proved it to have been juſt and righteous afterwards. Beſides, I was the more obliged to look to myſelf, becauſe I was informed by ſome of the Baſha's intimate Friends, that nothing but Fear would make him honeſt and true to his Word, and that if he could break it without Danger, he certainly would.

While I was waiting for an Opportunity to put my Plot in Execution, one luckily happen'd, by the Abſence of the Aga, who, with all the great Men in the Town, went to make merry in his Gardens, that lay at ſome little Diſtance from it. And to render the Opportunity the more compleat, the Sub-Baſſa, our Guardian, and all the inferior Officers, went to a Racky-houſe, and got drunk that Day; which greatly favour'd our Buſineſs.

Our Ship, the *Darling*, was, the Day before, come into the Road, and lay there waiting for Intelligence from us, who were Priſoners in the Town; which was alſo allow'd of by the *Turks*, not imagining any Thing more than an ordinary Correſpondence. Matters were thus agreed on between me and my Company, that I ſhould by ſome politic Method be convey'd into the Boat that was to carry our Letters (as was uſual) to the *Darling*, and in that Boat take up ſuch a Part of the Company as it would conveniently hold; and the reſt ſhould go and poſſeſs themſelves of another Boat, that lay ready fitted for their Service at one End of the Town; and ſo all make towards the Ship as well as we could. And this was not extreamly difficult to be put in Practice, ſince, if my Orders were obſerv'd not to go all together in a Body, but diſperſed by two and three in a Company, there would be no Manner of Suſpicion of ſuch Deſign, becauſe they had all the free Liberty to walk up and down the Town. As for myſelf, I could not ſtir without a Guard to attend me, ſo that it was impoſſible for me to go to work that Way; and there was no Means for me to get aboard, but by putting ſome Trick upon my Keepers. And all Things conſider'd, I could think of no better one than this, to put myſelf into an empty Caſk, and ſo amongſt other Lading, be tumbled into the Boat. So into the Barrel I went, and being out upon the Water, I forc'd out the Head of it, to have Liberty of Breathing, and Providence guided me ſo happily, that I came without Impediment to the Place where my Company attended me, and took them in.

The other Party alſo manag'd their Buſineſs ſucceſsfully, and got out to Sea without Diſturbance, and we met aboard the *Darling*. A ſmall Number indeed of our Company, by their own Negligence, Delay, and ill Management, gave ſuch an Alarm to the Town, that they were diſcover'd and intercepted in their Paſſage to the Boat where they ſhould have been taken in; and ſo being carried back Priſoners, were like to have loſt their Heads by the extravagant Fury of the Aga; who being re-

returned from his Diverſion, was like to run mad with the Confuſion and Trouble which this Eſcape gave him. However, to add to his Comfort, I ſent him a Meſſage to this Effect, *That if he did not ſpeedily ſend me the reſt of my Men, and make Satisfaction for Damages received, I would fire all the Ships in the Road, and batter the Town about his Ears.*

And as Circumſtances now happen'd, I had Opportunity enough to take my Revenge; for there were ſome conſiderable Ships in the Road already, and others that came freſh in, whilſt I lay in that threatning Poſture before the Town. Now all the Merchants and great Men of the Town complimented and courted me, and addreſs'd me in the moſt humble Manner, for the Sake of their Ships, and labour'd earneſtly with the Aga to come to Terms with me. A Day hardly paſs'd without ſome Preſent or other from him, to keep me quiet, and ſtop the Mouths of my great Guns, which were ready to ſpeak a Language he did not care to underſtand. Even the Baſha himſelf (now forc'd to be honeſt whether he would or no) ſent me his Commendations, and aſſured me he was ſorry I was gone away in ſo obſcure a Manner, becauſe he deſign'd to have diſcharg'd me in a Way more honourable, and befitting my Quality and Character.

I heard all this *Turkiſh* Diſſimulation with Scorn, but having it now in my Power to right myſelf, I gave my laſt Reſolution ſo to do; and as the Wrongs I received there, were real and ſubſtantial, ſo, in ſhort, I let them underſtand, I would have another Sort of Reparation than by Flattery and Careſs. My Demands were, to have all my Men returned ſafe on Board me; to have my Pinnace, which they had ſeiz'd, reſtor'd, and 70,000 Rials of Eight,

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in Conſideration of the Loſſes I had ſuſtained, by Means of the Treachery and Violence there offer'd me.

The two firſt Particulars were eaſily agreed to and perform'd; but the latter, of the Payment of ſo much Money, would not go down with them. However, at laſt, after many Conferences and Debates, I yielded to take 18,000 Rials, and ſo a Peace was concluded betwixt us and them for two Years, from the Port of *Moba*, to that of *Cananor* upon the Coaſt of *India*: But this, for our better Security, I would have confirm'd by a Writing under the Baſha's own Hand and Seal, which was promis'd, but never perform'd: And this was a Proof clear enough, that tho' Neceſſity had compell'd them to make a Peace with us, they intended to break it as ſoon as they had an Opportunity.

Having thus diſpatched all our Concerns at *Moba*, we ſail'd away for the Road of *Aſſab*, where our Ships had met with ſuch good Entertainment before, and where, when we now came, we had Plenty of Proviſions brought in by the Country People, and Meſſengers from the King, to congratulate our ſafe and happy Eſcape from *Moba*.

Here we paſs'd the Time in a pleaſant Correſpondence, and mutual Acts of Kindneſs and Civility between theſe People and us, till the latter End of this Month, when we rouzed, to go look after a *Turkiſh* Prize; a rich Galleon that comes yearly from *Sues* to *Moba*; which I had the more Mind to make, becauſe the Baſha and Aga were conſiderably concern'd in her. But in this Purſuit, having the Wind very much againſt us, and running into ſome Dangers, for Want of a Pilot, we were oblig'd to give over that Deſign.

We went on now to the Streights of *Babelmandel*, in Proſecution of our *Indian* Voyage. And here in this Paſſage we detected at once the Falſehood and the Deſign of that Report, made by the *Turks* and *Arabs* concerning this Streight, *viz.* that the Southern Paſſage between the Iſland and the Coaſt of *Africa*, is not navigable for Rocks and Shoals, and other terrible Things; and that a Ship that will go into the Red Sea, muſt go the Northern Paſſage between the Iſland and the Coaſt of *Arabia*, or not at all.

Our *Darling* went between the Iſland and the Coaſt of *Afric*, and found the Paſſage at leaſt three Leagues wide, and 40 Fathom Water for one third Part of the Way, and not the leaſt Appearance of Danger in the whole Paſſage. But the *Turks* would make the World believe the contrary, becauſe the other Streight is not a Mile and a half over; which may be ſo fortified, that no Ships ſhall come into the Red Sea, without either aſking them Leave, or ſtanding the Shock of their Ordnance.

The Beginning of the next Month brought us into the Road of *Deliſha*, in the Iſle of *Socotora*, where I furniſh'd my Ships with Water, and traded with the King for what Aloes he had. A few Days ended our Buſineſs here; and ſo holding our Courſe for *Surat*, we came (without any remarkable Occurrence by the Way) to *Swelly* Road, the latter End of the ſame Month.

According to our Obſervation here, the Water flows E. N. E. one Quarter N. and W. by S. one Quarter S. by the Moon, and by this Time the Flood holds five Hours, and the Ebb ſeven: The Reaſon of which is from the abundant Rains which help to ſtrengthen the Current of the River, and ſo far overcome and ſhorten the Flood-ſtreams; whereas, at other Seaſons, tho' the Streams are always

ways ſtrong, yet the Flood and Ebb are equally ſix Hours apiece.

Here we had Intelligence, that a whole Fleet of *Portugueze* Frigates, to the Number of twenty, and well provided, as well to offend us, as to defend themſelves, lay waiting for us at the Bar of *Surat*. They had, it ſeems, Notice of our being in the Red Sea, and of our Deſign for *India*; and therefore came out with a Reſolution to diſpute the Point with us, and, if poſſible, to hinder our Trade either at *Surat*, or any where elſe upon that Coaſt.

We now found ourſelves in a Circumſtance of ſome Difficulty and Diſtreſs; go back and loſe our Voyage we would not, and we ſaw no Probability of getting into *Surat*, without forcing our Way thro' the whole *Portugueze* Fleet. They kept ſo ſtrict a Watch, that no Boats could either go to, or come from the Shore, with Intelligence to us, but they muſt of Neceſſity fall into their Hands; and if they had any Thing worth the taking, to be ſure were plunder'd. And upon this Pretence they took Occaſion to rob divers Ships and Boats, alledging (whether they did or no) that they held Correſpondence with their Adverſaries, and were bringing Supplies to us, upon which Score all their Ladings were ſeized and confiſcated. All Communication between us and the Land being thus cut off, and no Proviſion poſſible to be brought to us, our Men began to grow very weak and diſtemper'd; ſo that it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, either to break this Chain, or to ſtarve, and be eaten up with the Scurvy on Ship-board. I therefore deſired, by Letters directed to their Admiral, that theſe Matters might be amicably compoſed and adjuſted, and that I might not be compell'd to have Recourſe to violent Methods, to procure a Liberty which I had as great a Right to in that Place as themſelves; both by the Authority of the King from whom I came, and of the King to whoſe Country I came, who had very kindly entertain'd our Nation there upon the Deſigns of Trade. But as for them, who value no Laws, either of Nature or Nations, nor any Authority but that of their own Prince, they inſiſted upon the old Topic of the King of *Portugal*'s Prerogative in thoſe Seas, and concluded that I ſhould not be permitted to come there, unleſs I ſhewed an Order from him. This, with many baſe Reflections upon our Country, and other Expreſſions of Scorn and Contempt, was all the Anſwer I could get from them.

And it was not only in the Matter of Trade we were thus inſulted by them; but they barbarouſly denied us thoſe common Liberties, which might have been ſafely granted us, without any Prejudice to themſelves: For, as we had ſeveral of our Countrymen and Merchants aſhore, whom I would have taken aboard, they would not allow this; but told us ſcoffingly, they would carry them to *Goa* along with them, where they ſhould have as good Uſage as any *Jews*, or *Turks*, ever had among the *Portugueze*; and from thence they would ſend them Home as they ſaw fit.

I had, ſhortly after, a civil Meſſage from the Governor of *Surat*, who offer'd all the Kindneſs he could do for us; but complain'd, that the *Portugueze* were an Impediment in his Way, ſo that he could not do what he deſired and intended; but, withal, adviſed me to ſail out of this Road for *Gega*, where I might ride nearer the Shore with my Ships, and the *Portugueze* Armada could not hinder my Landing; and beſides, it was nearer to *Cambaya*, where I ſhould find much greater Advantage for Trade than here. But as I had ſeveral Reaſons not to follow this Counſel, ſo I was the more particularly determin'd againſt it, by an Advertiſement from ſome of our Countrymen on Shore, by which I underſtood, that Captain *Sharpeigh*, with others, were coming from *Cambaya* to *Surat*, in order to go along with me. Thus, neither to deſert my Countrymen, nor give my Adverſaries any Occaſion to reproach me, with flying, out of an Apprehenſion of their Power, I continued in that Road, and anchor'd near the North-point, athwart the Bar, at the Entrance of the River of *Surat*.

Being now reſolv'd to command my Landing, in Spite of the *Portugueze*, we put on for the Shore with our Ships, in the beſt Order that might be. The *Portugueze* likewiſe advanced in Order of Battle, and ſtood in between us and the Shore. It was not long before ſome of their Frigates made the Onſet, which was follow'd by the whole Power of their Fleet; and it was as little a while before our Shot (which we beſtow'd pretty liberally amongſt them) obliged them to retire further from us, and leave us not only the Liberty of the Shore, but the Poſſeſſion of one of their Frigates, which we took in the Skirmiſh.

Now we had a free Paſſage open between us and the Land; and though the *Portugueze* laid ſeveral Ambuſcades to cut off our Retreat when we went aſhore, we had the good Luck to avoid the Danger of them all, and convey ſafely aboard all the Company we expected from *Surat* and *Cambaya*.

But the greateſt Concerns, which were thoſe of Trade, lay all this while unminded; the Difficulty and Trouble made us by the *Portugueze*, having hitherto render'd our Progreſs in thoſe Matters impoſſible. But now the Governor of *Surat* (who had given me a Meeting once or twice on the Shore) aſ-

aſſured me, That *Mocrebchan*, the Governor of *Cambaya*, would come to confer with me about thoſe Points in a little Time; and in the meanwhile, the Country ſhould be order'd to bring in their Proviſions for the Supply of our Ships.

So a Market was kept upon the Strand, by *Swally* Road, to which the *Indians* brought Beaſts, Fowls, Butter, all Sorts of Fruits, dried Fiſh, and Palmito Wine. Beſides the more common Fruits we meet with every Day, they had a Sort of Peaſcod, which they call *Paupery*, and a Fruit as big as a ſmall Crab, of a grateful Taſte, mix'd of ſweet and ſour, having one round ſmall Stone in the Midſt of it, to which they gave the Name of *Gindus*.

This Part of the Promiſe perform'd, it was ſoon follow'd by the Accompliſhment of the other; for now *Mocrebchan*, with a mighty Train, came to the Conference I ſo earneſtly deſired. Having paſt the firſt Compliment aſhore, I invited him aboard my Ship, where I delivered him his Majeſty's Letter directed to him, and careſs'd him in the beſt Manner the ſhort Warning we had of his Coming would allow. But, for his Part, his great Buſineſs when he was there, was to ſearch and look all about the Ship, to find out all the little Toys that pleaſed him, and to beg them when he had done. There was not a Cheſt, nor a Box in the whole Ship, that could eſcape him, but he would have it open'd; and if he liked any Thing he ſaw, he would either aſk for it in plain Terms, or ſignify his Mind by ſuch broad *Innuendos*, that I could not avoid giving it him. And thus he went on picking up Toys from one Ship to another, without ever coming to the main Buſineſs in Hand; and if I offered to propoſe any Thing of that Kind, he would put it off with one Excuſe or another; ſo that I plainly ſaw he had no Mind to do any Thing. To do him Juſtice however, tho' he did us ſo little, he was our Chapman for ſome Commodities; as Knives and Glaſſes, and ſome Cheſts of Sword-blades; but no Money paid, nor any Time prefixed when it ſhould; and yet at the ſame Time that we muſt give him this Credit, he was pleaſed to repoſe ſo little Confidence in our Honeſty, as not to truſt us with the keeping of his Bargain till he was got aſhore, but would ſee all ſent away before he went himſelf.

And to make himſelf the better Cuſtomer to us, he pick'd out of the Parcels of Sword-blades we ſold him, all that were very fine and good, and ſent me back the reſt, but without any Money, or any Conſideration for that Diſadvantage; tho' we had let him have a much cheaper Penny-worth on that very Account, that he took all one with another.

Thus having got what they could out of us, they removed their Goods and Tents, both he and the Governor of *Surat*, and went away; and not only ſo, but made Proclamation, that no Proviſions ſhould be brought to us, and that under a very great Penalty (the Loſs of the Noſe) to be inflicted on the Delinquent in this Caſe. Yet at the ſame Time that I was thus abus'd in my Commodities, and they were endeavouring to force me way by Famine from the Country, did this ſordid, covetous Infidel, ſend a Meſſenger to beg a fine Spaniel Dog, and my perfumed Jerkin off from my Back; as he had a few Days before begged my Beaver-hat off from my Head; and would then have fain had the other too. Which I mention not for the Value of the Things given him, which were inconſiderable, but to ſhew what ill Circumſtances a Man is in, that deals in theſe Countries, with People of ſuch inſatiable Avarice, of ſuch a griping, ſqueezing Temper, that by their good Will, will never leave a Man ſo long as he bleeds a Drop of any Thing that's agreeable to them.

But it ſeems, they had a Mind to more of our *Engliſh* Commodities, and therefore, after a few Days, came down again with ſeveral Packs of *Indian* Cloths, and other Goods. They pretended they would deal with us for our Lead, Quick-ſilver, Vermilion, and Velvets, which latter *Mecrobchan* had a very great Inclination to; but then they would trade upon ſuch Terms, that they would gain fifty in a hundred, tho' our Commodities were brought to their own Doors, and we were at the Charge and Trouble of ſo tedious a Voyage to come to them. However, at laſt we agreed upon the Prices, and ſome Parts of the Goods were delivered, and the Lead and the reſt, were brought aſhore as faſt as we could, in order to their weighing.

But here a freſh Difficulty was ſtarted, which had well nigh put all into Confuſion again; for they were for weighing with the Weights and Beam of their Country, and we inſiſted upon the Uſe of our's, as there appeared upon Trial ſo much Difference between them, that had we gone by their Beam, they had pinched us at a very fine Rate; for in every five Pigs there were ten or eleven Maunds Difference, every Maund bein 33 lb. *Engliſh* Weight. And upon our refuſing to comply with their Humour, the old Governor of *Surat* flung away in a Rage, and declared we ſhould pay for his Goods, Half in Money, and the other Half in our Commodities, or elſe the Bargain ſhould be void, and he would turn all we had landed upon our Hands again. And I doubt not, had we been left entirely to his Mercy, we ſhould have been conſiderable Loſers; but it happened, we were able to make our own Terms with him, and bring him to a reaſonable Concluſion: For I had at that Juncture two very great Men aboard my Ship, one of whom was the new Governor of *Surat*, whom (tho' they came upon a civil Viſit) I made bold to detain, (yet with all the Entertainments my Ship could afford them) till I had brought the Matters of Trade into a better Condition. And I think we were beholden to theſe Pledges for ſo reaſonable a Concluſion as we came to; for, after this, we went on without any more of theſe Diſputes and Wrangles we had before; and we bargained for a Matter of 40 Packs of their *Indian* Cloths.

It was about this Time an Order came from Court to turn out *Mocrebchan* from his Government of *Cambaya*, and *Haia Naſſan* from his of *Surat*. This latter was he that held this Poſt at our firſt coming thither, and who managed the Trade ſo unfairly with us, and obliged us to keep theſe Perſons before-mentioned in ſafe Cuſtody, till we had done ourſelves Right and Juſtice. And whatever the timely removing of this Perſon would have ſignified, I believe, if *Mocrebchan* had been removed ſome Years before, the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, in thoſe Parts, would have fared much better. For as he was a Man that valued not the Service of his Prince, nor the Profit of his Country, any farther than was conſiſtent with his own Advantage; ſo he was not only a particular Hater of our Nation, but a Friend to the *Portugueze*, who were our greateſt Enemies, did all their Buſineſs, and carried on all their Deſigns at Court, which were directed to the utter Overthrow of thoſe happy Beginnings of a Trade and Factory in this Country, under the Conduct of Captain *Hawkins*.

It was at this Time, that this worthy Perſon, and faithful Agent to his Country, having ſeen the Fruſtration of all his Hopes and Deſires, partly by the Inconſtancy of the *Mogul* himſelf, the Malice and Diligence of the Jeſuits, the Bribes of the *Portugueze*, and eſpecially the invidious Repreſentations made of our Nation by *Mocrebchan*, was preparing to return to *England*, no more Service being to be done there. A Factory was abſolutely and peremptorily denied, and all *Engliſhmen* were commanded to be gone out of the Country, being not allowed ſo much Liberty, as Juſtice and common Honeſty would have allotted them, to gather in their Debts. This being the Caſe, I ſent to all our Countrymen to repair as faſt as they could, with their Goods, to our Ship, that we might go all together, and leave a People ſo fickle, baſe, and inhoſpitable, for ſome other that might give us better Entertainment; and they, being as weary of the Country, as the Country was of them, in as little Time as Affairs would allow, came down with all their Effects, bringing the two Captains, *Sharpeigh* and *Hawkins*, along with them.

We now underſtood the Reaſon of this ſo very ſudden a Change, and why our People were expelled the Country in ſuch a Hurry. The Jeſuits, it ſeems, had ſent a Letter to *Mocrebchan*, wherein they ſignified, That if they received the *Engliſh* into Trade and Friendſhip in thoſe Parts, the *Portugueze* would come and burn all the Towns upon the Sea-Coaſts, and rifle all their Ships they ſhould meet with any where abroad. To ſuch a Degree of Pride and Inſolence was that rude and domineering Nation then arrived, that they pretended to govern the Countries of other Princes, preſcribe their Intereſts and Alliances, and fix the Bounds of their Trade and Correſpondence as they thought fit.

We had, to our great Diſadvantage, worn out no leſs than one hundred and thirty-eight Days in this Country; all which Time was filled up, on the Part of the *Indians*, with nothing but Tricks and Delays, and Breach of Promiſe; and on ours, with vain and fruitleſs Expectations of a profitable Trade.

It being therefore high Time to be gone, we ſet Sail for *Dabul* about the Beginning of *February*, and came thither the Middle of the ſame Month. I had ſome Hopes of doing ſomething to the Purpoſe there; however, it was but ſhooting one Arrow more, after ſeveral that had been loſt before.

The Governor of the Place ſent me a Preſent, and promiſed a very friendly Correſpondence and a free Trade. Upon which the Merchants were ſent aſhore with ſeveral Sorts of Commodities. But tho' at firſt they made a Noiſe of fine Cloths, Indigo, and Pepper, which they had to barter for our Wares, yet we could find nothing of that forth-coming; and all that they dealt with us for, was ſome of our Broad-cloths and Kerſies of the beſt and lighteſt Colours, and ſome Bars of Lead.

While we lay here, the *Portugueze* made us ſome Part of Amends (tho' againſt their Wills) for the many Damages they had done us, by bringing a good Ship and Frigate within our Reach. The Ship was of 300 Tons Burthen, belonging to *Cochin*, and bound for *Chaul*, and her Lading was Cocoa, Tin, Sugar, Racka Nuts, *China* Diſhes, Spices, Wax, Aloes, and baſt Ropes. The Frigate was of 60 Tons, bound to *Ormus*, and laden with Rice and Tamarinds; out of all which we took what we thought convenient, and could well beſtow in our Ships. We would fain have ſeen their Bills of Lading; but they either had none, or elſe had ſecured them, ſo as we could not find them.

And now we began to think of leaving *India*, and ſailing back again towards the *Red-Sea*; to which we were induced by the Opportunities we might there meet with, of putting off thoſe Goods which ſtill lay on our Hands, to thoſe Ships of *India* we ſhould find thereabouts: Partly, to take ſome farther Revenge upon the *Turks* of *Aden* and *Moha*; and alſo to prevent the Danger that threatened a Ship of our Country, gone the Year before into thoſe Parts; of which we had Notice at *Surat*.

So diſcharging the *Portugal* Ship and Frigate, we ſet Sail from *Dubal*, directing our Courſe towards the Coaſts of *Arabia*. And the latter End of this Month brought us to the Iſle of *Zocotora*.

From the Coaſt of *India* to this Iſland, we continually found ourſelves carried farther to the Southward, than by our Courſe we could expect; eſpecially when we were thwart the *Perſian* Gulph; which I impute to the Influence of ſome Current ſetting thence to the Southward.

As we coaſted along by Cape *Guadarfui* and *Monte Felix*, the Country People came to us with Sheep and Goats, and ſome Parcels of Albanum and Gum Arabic, which we bought of them at reaſonable Rates. But this civil Correſpondence and Traffick was all owing to a Miſtake; for they took us for *Mahometans*; had they known us to be otherwiſe, it is very probable we ſhould have met with the ſame Treatment as we did at *Aden*.

Being now come into theſe Parts, that we might the better accompliſh the Deſign we came for, both of ſecuring our own Country Ships that ſhould come that Way, and taking Satisfaction from all *Indian* and *Turkiſh* ones for Wrongs received; I ſet one of my good Ships, the *Peppercorn*, to guard the Paſſage towards *Aden*; and myſelf, with the other, went to keep the Paſſage of *Babelmandel*. And I had now Intelligence from *Zocotora*, that Captain *Saris*, Commander of a Fleet of three *Eaſt-India* Ships, notwithſtanding the Writing I had left at that Place ſome Time before, to adviſe him to the contrary, was already gone to the *Red-Sea* to trade, hoping for better Entertainment than I had found there, on account of the Grand Signior's Paſs he had got. This Advice I had by our own Ship the *Darling*, which we had diſpatched a little before the reſt of our Fleet to *Zocotora* in our coming hitherwards, to enquire concerning any *Engliſh* Ships that had come that Way; and there our People ſaw the Letter left by Captain *Saris*, giving an Account of his paſt Voyage, and intended Progreſs to the *Red-Sea*.

We had not been long expecting in the Streights, before ſome ſcattering Prizes fell into our Hands. Firſt, a Ship of *Baſanor*, then a Ship of *Din* bound to *Moha*. I forced them both to come to an Anchor by me, and took out of them whatever Goods were for our Purpoſe.

My Letters directed for Captain *Saris* at our firſt putting into the Streights, were, it ſeems, honeſtly delivered, tho' a *Turk* was the Poſt; for he quickly came with all his Ships to anchor by me, upon the News of my Arrival; ſo that our Force in the *Red-Sea*, by this Conjunction of the two Fleets, was pretty conſiderable. The Captain told me, *That my coming hither, in that hoſtile Manner, had ſpoiled his Trade at* Moha, *which he believed would have been very good, becauſe of the Grand Signior's Paſs.* Tho', in my Opinion, that Paſs would have ſignified little in the End; and that ſuch arrant Villains as thoſe *Turks* of *Moha* are, would have found ſome Means to elude it, when it was for their Advantage. Beſides, we were now in a Condition to do ourſelves and our Nation more Service by other Methods, than by falling into a Trade with the baſe and knaviſh People of *Moha* and *Aden*, or any other Town upon theſe Coaſts. And Opportunities of this Nature came thick and three-fold upon us, ſo that we had almoſt as much Work in ſeizing and ſtopping Ships, as we could well manage. For, before the End of this Month, we got no leſs than eleven or twelve *India* Ships more in our Power, which were all bound for *Moha* and *Zidda*, and laden with Pepper, Rice, and other *Indian* Commodities; ſome of them were very large Ships; particularly, the *Rhemy* of *Surat* (belonging to the old *Mogul* Empreſs) of 1500 Tons, and others of 600, 400, 200, *&c.* but none of them all inconſiderable, either for their Burthen or their Lading. So that we were now in a Capacity of forcing the *Turks* to make us ample and compleat Satisfaction for the many Injuries we had ſuſtained from them; and they durſt not refuſe coming even to our own Terms, ſince we had thirteen good Ships in our Hands, in which the Town of *Moha* was ſo deeply concerned, and whoſe Loſs would have been no leſs than a Breaking to the whole Place.

But this was not the whole of our Succeſs; for the *Peppercorn*, left to guard the Paſſage to *Aden*, had her Share in the Sport, getting three or four good *Indian* Ships within her Reach, out of which ſhe furniſhed herſelf with ſome uſeful Commodities. This Ship having done her Work, came to us in *Aſſab* Road, which was the common Place of Rendezvous, whither our united Fleets, and all our Prizes, repair'd, after we had done our Buſineſs.

Here we receiv'd a ſolemn Viſit from the King of *Rahita*, who came ſplendidly attended with all his Guards and Nobility to bid us welcome, and congratulate us upon our Succeſs.

And now alſo Commiſſioners came from *Moha* to treat with us about the Redemption of the Ships; theſe were the Sabander or Governor, the Captain of the Galleys, and an Aga, who were order'd by the Baſha to confer with us about it. My Demands were 100,000 Rials of Eight, a Sum they did not well know how to raiſe, and beſides, could not agree to, till they heard the Baſha's Reſolution upon the Matter. This Affair was a long Time in Debate, and the Captains of the *Indian* Ships were terribly diſguſted, that their Ships were thus arreſted on the Score of the *Turks*, and conſequently backward to advance any Thing towards the Payment of their Debt; ſo we came to no Concluſion, and a whole Month was conſum'd to little Purpoſe. All this while our People were buſy in romaging the *Indian* Ships, opening and packing of *Indian* Cloths fit for our Turn, and giving them *Engliſh* Commodities in the Room of them. This was the leaſt Juſtice we could do ourſelves, as to them, conſidering the foul Dealing we had in their Country, and many Tricks put upon us in Trade, and the Debts claimable there, which we had Reaſon to look upon as deſperate, if in this Juncture we ſhould neglect the Opportunity of doing ourſelves Right. As for the *Turks*, we plainly ſaw by their Delay, and refuſing to come to a poſitive Concluſion, that they intended to ſhuffle us out of Payment, if we did not by ſome Method ſpeedily compel them to it.

So moving with the whole Fleet out of *Aſſab* Road towards *Moha*, I ſignified to the *Indian* Commanders, that the *Turks* not being minded to make me that juſt and full Satisfaction which I demanded, I had no other Way, at preſent, to be ſo effectually reveng'd of them, as to ſpoil their *Indian* Trade. And therefore, tho' I had done what I thought fit in Conſideration of the Injuries received in *India*, yet I muſt carry all their Ships away with me out of the Red Sea, to cut off all Commerce between the *Turks* and them for that Year, that the latter might not receive any Benefit by them.

The *Indians*, who ſaw this Seaſon would be wholly loſt to them, if their Ships ſhould be thus forc'd away, and being unwilling to carry back their Commodities to *India*, they reſolved to compound for their Trade this Year, and pay every Ship ſuch a Sum of Money, that they might not be diſturbed in the free Vent of their Merchandize among the *Turks*. This Offer I accepted, leaving the fuller Satisfaction due from the *Turks* till another Time; ſo every Ship paid in its Quota, the great *Rhemy* of *Surat* allowing for its Part 15,000 Rials of Eight, ſhe being equal in Value to four good Ships. This Affair being thus adjuſted, we were ready to purſue Buſineſs in other Parts of the World.

Captain *Saris* having diſpatched one of his Ships, in a few Days he ſail'd away himſelf out of the Red Sea; and we ſtaid no longer behind than the Middle of *Auguſt*.

We had ſent away the *Darling* as long ago as *May* for *Tekoa* in *Sumatra*, and was preſently after follow'd by the *Thomas*, a Ship of Captain *Saris*'s Fleet, and now myſelf, with the other two, the *Trade's Increaſe*, and the *Peppercorn*, ſet Sail in Proſecution of the ſame Voyage. After we had paſſed the Streights of *Babelmandel*, the Currents (which we then lay open to) began to render Sailing ſomething doubtful and perplexed. While we were yet within Proſpect of the *African* Coaſt, a Current ſetting to the S. W. made us miſtake in our Reckoning; when farther out at Sea, we were ſenſible of one ſetting the contrary Way, *viz.* towards the N. E. We eaſily diſcovered our Approach towards the Coaſt of *India*, by the Numbers of Snakes ſwimming in the Sea, a certain Token of it, as Sailors, from their Experience, affirm. As we ſail'd along the Coaſt of *India*, we obſerved the Sea for the moſt Part thick and muddy, but ſometimes intermix'd with Spots of clear tranſparent Water; ſo that here it look'd like dirty Puddle, and there bright and pure; and this Change from one Extreme to the other was ſudden and all at once, and that without any orderly Tranſition from one Degree to another, or finding any Signs of ſuch an Alteration as appear'd.

The Month of *October* was more than half gone by that Time we came to our deſired Place of *Tekoa* in *Sumatra*. Here we found the *Darling*, and her Companion the *Thomas*, but little Buſineſs done by either of them, the Quantities of Pepper they had got being very inconſiderable, and no more to be had till next *April* or *May*.

This Diſappointment made me think of removing to ſome other Place, where ſomething might be done worth my Stay and Attendance; for I plainly ſaw that the Civil Wars, which then raged there, would be an invincible Obſtruction to our Trade. After a few Days, therefore, I ſet Sail for *Bantam* in the *Peppercorn*, leaving the *Trade's Increaſe* to finiſh what little Buſineſs was yet to be done there, leaving Orders to repair to *Bantam*, as ſoon as thoſe Concerns were over.

This Ship having the Misfortune to receive ſome Prejudice by a Rock in her Way, was ſo diſordered when ſhe came to *Bantam*, that I found it moſt adviſable to diſpatch the *Peppercorn* away for *England*, to give ſome Satisfaction to the Adventurers, till ſhe had received a new Strength for the Voyage herſelf, and could bring me to give a full Account of all Matters: But this he was not able to accompliſh, being ſeiz'd with a violent Illneſs, which carried him off, while his Ship lay in *Bantam* Road.

The Voyage of Capt. ANTHONY HIPPON; *being the Seventh ſet forth by the* Eaſt-India *Company.*

AS much of the Journal of this Voyage is taken up in Matters too trivial for the Reader's Attention, or foreign to the Subject, we ſhall only relate ſuch Incidents and Occurrences as more immediately concern the Intereſts of Trade, and the firſt Settlement of Commerce in the *Indies*, together with the Obſtructions or Encouragement it met with from thoſe Eaſtern Princes, with whom the *Engliſh* begun their Traffick.

This Voyage was performed by one Ship only, called the *Globe*, Captain *Hippon*, Commander.

She ſet Sail from the *Downs*, the 5th of *February*, 1610, and arrived in *Saldanna* Bay the 21ſt of *May*. From thence ſhe proceeded to the *Indies*. Coaſting along by *Coromandel*, they came to *Palea-catte*, where they hoped to meet with ſome Trade, but were diſappointed by the *Dutch*, who ſhewed them an Inſtrument in Writing, given them by the King of *Narſinga*, wherein the *Dutch* only were allowed to trade all along that Coaſt, except ſuch as could produce Prince *Maurice* his Patent. The *Engliſh* thought their King's Patent as good as Prince *Maurice*'s, and therefore were willing to try what could be done. But the Intrigues of the *Dutch*, and their Influence on the People, laid ſuch Obſtructions in their Way, that they muſt have hazarded the Loſs of the Monſon for *Patane*, had they ſet about to remove them.

Being able to do nothing here, they ſet Sail for *Petapoli*, where they found Room for a little Trade. They agreed with the Governor for ⅔ *per Cent.* Cuſtom, and ſo ſent Goods aſhore; and leaving two of their Factors to carry on the Trade, went on with the Ship for *Maſulipatan*, where there was a better Road.

At *Maſulipatan*, the Governor bid them welcome to a Trade; but it ſeems, it was only with a Deſign to cheat them. They agreed with him for Cuſtom at 4 *per Cent.* and yet, contrary to the expreſs and plain Terms of the Bargain, he would have it, that they agreed upon 12 *per Cent.* And he had no other Reaſon to prove it by, but this, That he deſcended from the Prophet, and had the Blood of *Mahomet* running in his Veins; and therefore, his Race being ſo pure and holy, his Word was to be taken before that of a Chriſtian, and eſteemed more juſt and true. But notwithſtanding the Sanctity of his Pedigree, they would not lie at the Mercy of his Conſcience; and if it was true, that he was a Branch of ſuch a Root as *Mahomet*, he was the more likely to be a cheating Knave; and therefore, they threaten'd him into a Compliance, upon fair and reaſonable Terms.

Having clear'd Accounts at theſe Places, they proceeded for *Bantam*, where they arrived the latter End of *April*. From hence, after a ſhort Stay, they bent their Courſe to *Patane* and *Siam*, Places not ſo frequently viſited by the *Engliſh* Ships. In this Courſe they took Care to come no nearer the Point of *Mompyne*, than three Leagues and a Half, or four Leagues, becauſe of a Ledge of Rocks that lies two Leagues off the Eaſternmoſt Point of *Sumatra*, being the ſeventh Point of the Streights; this Ledge of Rocks bears near E. and W. at the two Ends of it; and when you have got *Mompyne* S. E. of you, then you are clear of all Danger from the Rocks.

Being arrived in the Road of *Patane*, they went aſhore in a full Body, with as much State and Greatneſs as they could, to deliver his Majeſty's Letter, and a Preſent to the Queen. The Letter was carried in a Baſon of Gold, upon a noble Elephant, uſher'd along with Flags and Muſic to the Court; the Value of the Preſent amounted to 600 Rials of Eight; and no ſmall Preparation was made at Court for the Reception of both theſe. They had not the Honour of ſeeing the Queen at this Time; however, they were handſomely treated by her Majeſty's Order; but the beſt Part of the Entertainment was, the doing the great Buſineſs they came about, accepting his Majeſty's Letter, and granting a free Trade there, and paying only the ſame Duties that other People did. The hardeſt Dealing they met with was, their making them pay 4000 Rials of Eight for the Ground of a public Warehouſe: But this Impoſition they ſubmitted to in Hopes of making more Advantage than that came to.

The Factory being eſtabliſhed, ſome of them ſtaid to mind the Affairs of Trade, while the Ship and the reſt of the Company proceeded to *Siam*. Mean while they had a very bad Market for moſt of their Commodities, eſpecially their Lawns, at *Patane*; whereas ſome few Years before, there was ſo quick a Vent, that there was more Fear of Diſadvantage from wanting a Stock, than from any Part of it lying upon their Hands. And the Reaſon of it was, the *Portugueze* bringing ſuch Quantities of it to *Malacca*, and the *Dutch* filling *Bantam* and the *Moluccas*, together with the Trade of the *Moors* at *Tanaſſerin* and *Siam*; and then the *Guzurats*, and thoſe from *Negapatan*, together with themſelves, did all help to cloy and over-do the Market. Beſides which, ſome Part of the Country was involved in the Troubles and Calamities of War; the Kings of *Jor* and *Pahan* (both upon the ſame Continent with *Patane)* being together by the Ears, burning and deſtroying one another's Territories; and Trade never thrives in a Country peſter'd with Wars and Factions.

The little Buſineſs they could do here, induc'd them to ſeek for better in ſome other Place; for which Purpoſe they ſent away a Cargo of Goods for *Macaſſar*.

Their Ship, the *Globe*, having been abſent about three Months, returned from the *Siam* Voyage, making but eight Days in her Paſſage from that Place to *Patane*, and brought them the following Account of the Voyage, and Entertainment there.

Having caſt Anchor in the Road of *Siam*, they gave Notice of their Arrival to the Town. The

King ſent two Men of conſiderable Figure to bid them welcome, to receive his Majeſty of *England*'s Letter, and to bring them to Court.

When they came into his Preſence, he heard with Pleaſure the Account of their Buſineſs and Deſign, and without any Demur promis'd a free Trade; adding, as a Token of his Favour, the Gift of a Piece of Cloth, and a little Cup of Gold to every one of them. But as the Courts of all Princes are troubled, more or leſs, with a Sort of covetous hungry Officers, that are for ſelling their Prince's Favours as dear as they can; ſo here the Mandarins muſt be gratified and brib'd to give their Conſent to what the King had freely promiſed; and thinking they had their Privilege too cheap, would pretend to oblige our People to drive a Bargain with them. As a Remedy againſt this Extortion of theſe inſolent Courtiers, they applied to the King, openly complaining of the Injuſtice of the Mandarins, and craving his Majeſty's Protection from them. This ſucceeded ſo well, that the Mandarins were curb'd and ſilenced, and all their Goods carried peaceably to the public Houſe aſſigned for them; with an Order for all thoſe Perſons to forbear moleſting us, to take any Bribe, or impoſe any Burden upon us.

Here the Journaliſt introduces an Account of the State of that Kingdom, and the ſeveral Revolutions it had undergone for ſome Ages paſt; which being foreign to the Matter in Hand, we ſhall omit; only obſerving, that *Siam* was once a large and potent Kingdom; but at length its Glory began to fade, and *Pegu* became its Rival, and at length its Miſtreſs. But in a Courſe of Time, *Pegu* relapſed into its former State of Inferiority, by its ill Succeſs in War againſt the King of *Siam*. That Prince, who firſt threw off the *Peguan* Yoke, dying without

out Iſſue, left his Brother to ſucceed him, who was called the *White King*, as the other had the Title of the *Black*. The *White King* left ſeveral Sons behind him, but the eldeſt being murdered by the Treachery of a certain Lord of *Siam*, (who aſpired to the Crown) the ſecond Son of the *White King* was inveſted with the royal Dignity; and this was he then on the Throne when our Ship was there. But from hence ſprung up horrible Confuſions and Diſſentions; from the preſent King revenging his Brother's Death upon the forementioned aſpiring Traitor, all his Slaves preſently run to Arms, broke into the Court, got the King into their Power, and having forc'd him to ſign a Writing with his own Blood, they ſpared his Life, but went off with Abundance of rich Plunder, in ſpite of all the Oppoſition made by the King's Guards.

This Tumult at Court gave Riſe to many others in the Kingdom; the Countries of *Lanianh* and *Cambaya*, immediately broke out into a Rebellion, and the other tributary Princes began to think, of following their Example. So ſpreading was the Contagion of theſe baſe Slaves, and ſo notable a Precedent did it afford to thoſe of a greater Figure, who diſdained to ſerve a Sovereign any longer, who had been inſulted and trampled on by the Dregs of his Court; but tho' all theſe petty Princes ſhould join in Combination againſt him, he may ſit ſecure enough on his Throne, if domeſtic Treaſon does not ſet in with the Endeavours of a foreign Power to ruin him.

This was the State of Affairs at *Siam*, when our Ship was there; and being ſo, it was our Misfortnne to come in ſo troubleſome a Time, when the whole Nation, being in Expectation of a ſudden

War, had little Diſpoſition to mind Trade or Buneſs.

On this Account they determined to ſpend their Winter at *Patane*, and in the mean Time to hold Correſpondence with *Siam*, and to watch any favourable Opportunities that might bring them there again.

While they lay here, they ſaw the Queen, and had Conference with her ſeveral Times. She was a comely, grave, majeſtic Perſon, ſo handſome and ſtately, in ſpite of her old Age, that they ſaw very few *Indians* that were her Equals in Beauty.

During the Winter the Rains were ſo violent, and the Floods roſe ſo high in theſe Parts, that one might truly ſay, theſe Parts of the *Indies* were deluged. The Cattle in the Fields were waſhed away, the Houſes beat down in many Places, by the Strength of the Torrent, and a great deal of other Miſchief done.

In *January* they had News from their Factor at *Siam*, that he had ſold off the better Half of his Goods, and that the King himſelf had taken a conſiderable Quantity: Upon which, to follow theſe flattering Beginnings of a Trade, they diſpatched the *Globe* away in *March*, for that Place, with a freſh Supply. Soon after they had Advice of her Arrival there, and of the profitable Sale their Factors had of their Commodities, and ſoon after as bad Tidings from *Bantam*, of the great Loſſes the *Engliſh* had by Fires there; in which Calamities the *Dutch* had likewiſe a Share.

The *Engliſh* Affairs at *Macaſſar* were on a bad Footing, and their Factors ready to come away; but in that Juncture an *Engliſh* Ship arrived with a good Lading of Cloth, to ſettle a Factory there, which obliged them to ſtay longer. This Ship was the *Darling*, one of the three that went into the *Red-Sea*, *Red-Sea*, under the Command of Sir *Henry Middleton*; that worthy Perſon himſelf being lately dead at *Bantam*, and his Admiral's Ship, the *Trade's Increaſe*, yet lying there, in very ill Circumſtances, as well as the Company left in her. The *Dutch*, who a little before were getting Ground in the *Moluccas* upon the *Spaniards*, and had taken the Caſtle and Iſland of *Solor*, were now like to loſe all at *Banda*, ſinking faſter here than they roſe in other Places. The *Bandaneſe* had confined their Government to the Caſtle, and kept them in ſuch Awe, that they durſt not give an ill Word; a good Part of their Men were gone off to the Natives, and turned *Mahometans*; and the whole *Dutch* Power in that Iſland ſignified no more at this Time than juſt to tyrannize in the Caſtle a little, and command the Junks that rode there with their great Guns.

The latter End of this Month the *Globe* came back from *Siam*, having finiſhed her ſecond Voyage thither. Our Factors there had ſent a Cargo of Goods to *Jagomai*, but had no News of the Succeſs of it, when the Ship came away, the Wars between the People of *Ava* and *Lanianh*, having cut off all Intercourſe between the two Places.

Patane had now its Share of Misfortunes among the reſt, tho' not by War, yet by Fire, an Enemy more mercileſs and outrageous than the Sword. This came through the Villainy of the *Javans*, who are the never-failing Plagues where they come; and practiſe the ſame Tricks of firing Towns and Houſes with as much Deſperateneſs abroad as they do at home. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* were obliged to join their Forces for their common Security, in the Midſt of this Hurly-burly; for the Town was all in Flames about their Ears; and theſe Cut-throats were roaming about in a full Body, murdering all that come in their Way, and rifling Houſes as faſt as they could; and they were juſt coming to make them a Viſit, as they had ſet out to meet them; which they having Intelligence of, and of the Force coming againſt them, were ſo wiſe as to run away, and ſhift for themſelves. Thus the *Engliſh* did themſelves and the Town ſo much Service, that they purchaſed the Name of its Defenders. They ſtaid ſo long at *Patane*, as to ſet the Wheels of Trade a moving there, and at ſome other Places; and having done their Buſineſs, prepared to return back to *Maſulipatan.*

In their Courſe from hence, they came to the dangerous *Riff*, which falls off from the Point of *Jor*, four Leagues into the Sea; and they paſſed it not without ſome Difficulty and Hazard, having the Point with the three little Iſlands W. S. W. from them. But it is beſt to keep towards the Sea, till you bring thoſe little Iſlands ſhut in with the Point of *Jor*, and *Pedra Bianea* open with the Iſle of *Bantam*. This *Pedra Bianea* is a great Rock, frequented by vaſt Numbers of Fowl, which covering the Clifts of it with their Dung, make it look very white, and from thence has its Name.

They underſtood by the Way, that the King of *Achen* having routed out the old King of *Jor*, had ſettled a new one in his Room, Nephew to the former; and had given Orders for rebuilding the Fort and City, ſo that the Country was like to be in a thriving Condition again, after ſo many Calamities as it had ſuffered, eſpecially ſince the King of *Achen*, (by an Alliance with this new King) had engaged himſelf in the Defence and Protection of it.

They arrived at *Maſulipatan*, the Middle of *December*, and found there the *James*, an *Engliſh*

Ship, waiting for them, being ſent directly to ſecond them in their Voyage.

They agreed with the Governor at Four *per Cent.* Cuſtom, and fell to lading of Goods; but the *James* was ſent away for *Petapoli*, and from thence to *Bantam.*

Here they had News from *Pegu*, that the King of *Ava* (a Country ſituated near a great River of *Pegu*) had taken the Fort of *Siriangh*, and ſlain all the *Portugueze* that kept it. This Town or Fort of *Siriangh* ſtands in an Iſland below the Mouth of the afore-mentioned River of *Pegu*; and when the King of *Arracan* had made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom of *Pegu*, he put this Town and Fort into the Hands of the *Portugueze*, who behaved themſelves there, as they did in all other Places, in a very inſolent and domineering Manner; and to requite the Kindneſs of the King of *Arracan*, they ſhortly after took his Son Priſoner, and extorted a vaſt Sum of Money, and a large Quantity of Rice, for his Ranſom. This Ingratitude to their Benefactor was very well puniſhed by the King of *Ava*, who broke in upon them with a good Force, and routed them entirely out of that Neſt. This Prince pretends to reſtore the decayed Empire of *Pegu* to ſomething of its former Luſtre, having called in all the diſtreſſed *Peguans*, and given Orders for the rebuilding of the old City, with many fair Promiſes of Quiet and Protection there. The *Moors* at *Maſulipatan* were highly pleaſed at theſe Actions of the King of *Ava*, becauſe they hope they ſhall get the Trade of *Pegu* into their Hands again, which the *Portugueze* in thoſe Parts had in a great Meaſure deprived them of. But however well pleaſed the *Moors* might be with the King of *Ava*'s Actions, the King of *Narſinga*'s were no leſs agreeable to the *Engliſh*: For now that mighty Prince ſent his Ambaſſadors to them to excuſe his former Neglect of Correſpondence with them when they were at *Paleacatte*, and to invite them to ſettle a Factory in his Country, where it pleaſed them beſt; and all this ſweeten'd with the Promiſe of what Privileges they would deſire.

Indeed the Complaints of the People went a great Way towards procuring them this Favour; for they were nettled to ſee our Ships paſſing by them every Year, and not have the Liberty of trading there, as the *Dutch* had. And tho' the *Dutch* did all they could to keep them out, yet the Country was ſenſible that they were not ſo much their Friends as their own, in endeavouring to exclude the *Engliſh*; and therefore they never left the King till he had invited them in this friendly Manner to trade there. His Lettter brought to them was written upon a Leaf of Gold, and, together with it, was delivered his *Cave*, or ſafe Conduct, and his *Abeſtiam*, or the Token of our Privilege, which was a white Cloth, upon which the King's Hand was printed in Saffron.

In the Month of *Auguſt* the Country about *Narſapur-peta*, and *Golconda*, was laid under Water in a moſt frightful Manner. Many thouſands of Men and Cattle were ſwept away, whole Towns were ruined, and all the Fruits of the Field deſtroyed; Plants and Trees were carried along with the Flood, and the Water lay three Yards high above the Level of the Ground. The City of *Golconda* ſuffered greatly in its Houſes and Bridges by this Inundation; 4000 Houſes were waſhed quite away, and two fair Bridges, raiſed at leaſt three Fathom above the ordinary Height of the Water, were now three Feet under Water; and tho' exceeding ſtrong, being built of Stone, the one conſiſting of nineteen, the other of fifteen Arches,

yet

yet ſix Arches of the biggeſt were entirely carried away by the Force of the Stream.

Soon after followed the Death of the mighty King of *Narſinga*. At the Solemnization of his Funeral, three of his Queens burnt themſelves with his Corpſe, in Teſtimony of their Love and Conſtancy, according to the Cuſtom of their Country. Great Troubles were likely to enſue, and all Foreigners took Care of their Concerns in the beſt Manner they could. As for the *Engliſh*, they endeavoured to get in their Debts with all Speed, and for that End ſent to the Governor to come and clear Accounts with them. But that deceitful Miniſter did nothing but trifle, and put them off with frivolous Pretences and Excuſes, till he had delayed the Matter ſo long, that it would have been prejudicial to them to have loſt any more Time.

As a deſperate Diſeaſe requires a deſperate Cure, they were forced to uſe a Method which would expoſe them to the greateſt Riſk, and to do an Action which all the World would count deſperate; yet ſuch were their Circumſtances, that they would admit of no other Remedy.

Having ſecretly conveyed ſome Weapons aſhore (for no Foreigners are allowed there to appear with any publickly) and concerted every Thing relating to the Execution of their Project, they went directly to the Cuſtom-houſe at a proper Time, intending to ſeize either the Governor himſelf, or his Son, and ſo keep on Ship-board in ſafe Cuſtody, till the Debt was diſcharged. All Things fell out as well as could be, and concurred to render the Attempt eaſy and proſperous. The Governor's Son was there with a very ſlight Guard; they ſeized the Soldier's Weapons, arreſted him, got him into their Boat, and ſo rowed away to their Ship with all the Speed they could. They were indeed ſoon purſued by a vaſt Number of Boats, and the whole Poſſe of the Town was raiſed upon them; but the *Engliſh* with their Fire-arms made good their Retreat, and delivered their Priſoner quietly into the Ship, and that in the Sight of 3 or 4000 People. Some of their Men were left aſhore, to give the Reaſons of this Act of Hoſtility, and to gather in their ſcattered Debts, who, tho' they might ſeem very much expos'd to the Fury of the provoked People, yet they had a good Protection, for the Governor himſelf took particular Care to ſecure them from all Harm, becauſe his Son was in Danger of feeling the Effects of any Wrong that ſhould be offered to thoſe aſhore. The Governor was now under a Neceſſity of doing them Juſtice, and in a little Time too, if he had any Regard for his Son's Life, not that they intended to offer him any Violence; but his own Superſtition would have been his Death, without any Remedy: For it ſeems he was a *Bramin*, and all of that Character are forbidden by the Laws of their Sect to eat or drink any Thing but what they provide themſelves. All Animal Food is an Abomination to them; and they have ſo many Peculiarities of Diet (and obliged to be their own Cooks too) that the poor *Bramin* a Ship-board was like to ſtarve, and kept a longer and ſeverer Faſt, than perhaps his Religion ever put him upon before. He would not touch a Bit of any thing they had; and tho' Nature ſtruggled hard, and made heavy Complaints for Relief, yet Conſcience reſtrained and curbed her, and ſilenced all that Noiſe, and got the Victory; ſo that the young Man muſt certainly die in a very ſhort Space, unleſs he would over-rule his Conſcience, or perſuade his Father to ſhew a little in paying a juſt Debt.

This being the Caſe, the old Governor diſputed the Buſineſs no longer; the Senſe of his Son's Danger ſoftened and overcame him, and to avoid the Imputation of being his Murderer, he diſcharged the Debt, and ballanced all Accounts with them. Upon which they ſent back the mortified Priſoner, after he had faſted four or five Days; enough to make a Man forſwear being a *Bramin* any longer.

After this, they parted in a fair and friendly Manner, and all Buſineſs being done, they took Leave of *Maſulipatan*, and ſail'd for *Bantam*, where they arriv'd the Beginning of *January*. They found ſome *Engliſh* Ships here, and particularly the *James* their Second, lately come from *Patane*, and had Notice of their other Affairs at *Macaſſar*, *Siam*, &c. which went on but dully, becauſe of the Commotions in thoſe Countries.

Captain *David Middleton* coming in here the next Month with three *Engliſh* Ships more, a Council was held for ordering the ſeveral Diſpatches of theſe Ships, which by Agreement were diſpers'd to various Parts of the *Indies*, to *Sumatra*, *Ambriva*, *Patane*, and *Japan*, to inſpect the Trade, and viſit their Factories in thoſe Parts.

As for thoſe in the *Globe*, they left *Bantam* the latter End of *Auguſt*, 1615 (having before ſent away the *James*) and holding their Courſe for *England*, after about five Months Sailing, arriv'd there in Safety.

The Voyage of Captain JOHN SARIS; *being the Eighth ſet forth by the* Eaſt-India *Company: Written by himſelf.*

THIS Fleet, which conſiſted of three Ships, the *Clove*, the *Hector*, and the *Thomas*, ſailed out of the *Downs*, *April* 18, 1611, and arrived in the Bay of *Saldanna* the 1ſt of *Auguſt*.

The firſt Part of this Voyage, containing nothing material enough to detain the Reader's Attention, we ſhall take a large Leap, and meet them at the Iſle of *Zocotora*, in their Way to the Red Sea. At this Iſland they met with a very friendly Entertainment from the King, who ſent the Captain, together with a Preſent, the Letters left there by Sir *Henry Middleton*; which gave an Account of his terrible Uſage at *Moha*, and all the Misfortunes of the Fleet in the Red Sea; together with his Advice, to make the beſt Uſe of thoſe Examples, of the perfidious Dealings of the *Turks*, for his own Security and Defence. But notwithſtanding this Advice, the Captain having the Grand Signior's Paſſport and ſafe Conduct, thought that was ſufficient, not only to protect him from any Inſults from the *Turks*, but likewiſe to procure him a free Trade in any Part of his Dominions, he therefore determined to proceed in his intended Voyage. And departing from *Zocotora*, about the Middle of *March*, came to Anchor in *Moha* Road.

A Meſſenger from the Governor ſoon waited on the Captain, to know who they were, and what their Buſineſs was there. The Captain returned for Anſwer, That if the Governor would ſend an equal Pledge to ſtay aboard in his Room, he would come aſhore and ſatisfy him himſelf. The State of Affairs at *Moha*, it ſeems, was now alter'd for the better, ſince Sir *Henry Middleton* was there. The barbarous Aga was turn'd out, and another fix'd in his Place, who, as reported, was a Man of a good Temper, courteous to Strangers, and a zealous Promoter of Trade.

When the Governor was ſatisfied who they were, and that they had the Grand Signior's Warrant for coming hither, I received (ſays Captain *Saris)* a courteous Welcome from him, both by Word of Mouth and Letter. He promis'd a ſufficient Pledge for my ſafe Return, if I pleaſed to land; plain and open Dealings in all Points, without any Thing of that plotting Fraud and Treachery, that had ſo abus'd our Nation before: But as to the main Buſineſs of a fixed Trade, he could not determine it till the Baſha's Orders were come.

Shortly after, he ſent three Perſons of conſiderable Figure to remain as Pledges in my Room; upon which I went aſhore with all the Merchants, being receiv'd by a Body of the Great Men, with the *Turkiſh* Muſic, and ſeveral Volleys from the great Guns of the Caſtle. My Reception at the Aga's Palace, was agreeable to all the reſt of the Scene; every Thing appeared ſtately and magnificent, expreſſed Welcome and Reſpect, and afforded Pleaſure and Delight, only the Compliments of the *Turks* were troubleſome, and that very formal ceremonious Way they uſe in their Addreſs to Strangers, was ſome Allay to the reſt of the Entertainment.

The Aga received our King's Letter reſpectfully, but the Grand Signior's Paſs he took with a Reverence and Devotion almoſt religious; kiſſing and laying it on his Head, as he would have done his Alchoran. He made a World of Excuſes for the

Wrongs done to Sir *Henry Middleton*, laying all the Blame upon the drunken Soldiers, and the ill Humour of the late Aga, who had acted beyond his Commiſſion, and had received a due Puniſhment for his Inſolence, by a diſgraceful Remove from his Place; by all which Diſcourſe it was very manifeſt, that they ſuſpected a Deſign of Revenge, and fear'd we ſhould call them to a Reckoning for thoſe paſt Injuries.

After this, a noble Dinner was prepared for us; which yet (had the liquid Part been proportionable to the reſt) would have been much more entertaining, eſpecially to Seamen; but our Drink was only pure Element, or elſe (for Variety) a Kind of Decoction of a certain bitter Herb, which made it an abſolute Doſe, and was ten Times worſe than the Water in its own pure Naturals.

Their Way is, to ſerve up all the Diſhes together, and ſet them down at once, before the Gueſts fall to eating; they don't place them upon a Level as we do, but pile them up one over another, Story upon Story, a matter of a Yard high; ſo that ſitting (as the *Turks* do) croſs-legg'd upon a Carpet on the Floor, the higheſt Diſhes were almoſt above our Heads. Theſe Diſhes are made with Feet that ſtand hollow one above another, and the Meat in any of them may be come at conveniently enough (if one can but reach) without removing them out of their Places.

After Dinner, the Aga's little Boys came in with their Chaffing-diſhes, and ſeveral rich Perfumes, as Ambergris, Lign-Aloes, *&c.* to gratify that Senſe as well as the reſt. This is a Ceremony they uſe in all their great Entertainments, and it being the Cuſtom we ſubmitted to it, and held our Noſes down over the Chaffing-diſhes.

For a Concluſion of the whole Careſs, a rich Suit of Apparel after the *Turkiſh* Mode was brought forth; the Veſt of Cloth of Gold, the Turban ſuitable and a curious Damaſkeen or Scimetar, all which the Aga put on with his own Hands. This, he told me, was the Grand Signior's Preſent, and I muſt needs walk in this Garb with the great Officers thro' the Town, that the People might all ſee the Marks of the Emperor's Favour conferred upon me. The Cuſtom, indeed, is to ride, and a ſtately Horſe was provided for that Purpoſe; but I choſe to walk, that I might have the better Opportunity to make a nice Obſervation of the Town.

The Ceremony over, I returned to the Palace, and took my Leave of the Aga, who ſtill moſt earneſtly deſired that all paſt Offences might be put up; and that thoſe Thoughts of Revenge, ſo juſtly awaken'd in us, might give Way to Sentiments of perfect Love and Friendſhip for the future. Thus we went back to our Ships with the Reſpect and Applauſe of the whole Town of *Moha*, and diſcharged the *Turkiſh* Pledges.

Some little Time after this, came the long expected Meſſage from the Baſha, and Word was ſent me by the Captain of the Town, that the Orders Patent would be inviolably obſerv'd, and a free Trade eſtabliſhed. And yet, at the ſame Time, I had ſome private Hints given me, intimating that the Baſha had ſpoke another Language in his Letter to the Aga; that if Matters did not run againſt us, they were not order'd to our Advántage, and that we ought to take Care that we did not come aſhore without Pledges; no, not tho' all the Aga and all his Officers ſhould ſwear upon the Alchoran for our Security; for, as our Informer told us, they were Soldiers, and had Conſciences of ſo ſtrong a Digeſtion, that no Perjury in the World would ſit uneaſy upon them.

Some *Indian* Ships came in the Beginning of the next Month, laden with Indigos, Calicos, Pintados, Ambergris, and Spices, all very good, and vaſt Quantities of each, and theſe we held by us in our Defence, in Caſe any Injury ſhould be offer'd aſhore. And great Reaſon there was to ſuſpect ſome Miſchief was hatching, becauſe the Governor, all this while, had taken but little Notice of the Baſha's Licence for our Trade; at leaſt only in ſuch general and obſcure Terms, as would rather have excited than ſilenced a Suſpicion of ſome perfidious Deſign; but on the other Hand, was very earneſt for me to come aſhore again; and then I ſhould underſtand more of the Buſineſs.

But for this Point of Civility, I begged his Pardon and Excuſe, having no Mind to make any more Viſits to *Moha* as Matters ſtood. But I ſent one of my Company, who, tho' he went without Pledges in his Room, came back again, as it happen'd, and brought Word of the apparent Fruſtration of our whole Deſign; that the *Turks* gave no Hopes of performing their Promiſe, and that the Aga concluded we muſt ſend ſome of our People to the Baſha at *Zenan*, and get our Diſpatch immediately from himſelf.

And this Courſe (ſince there was no other left) I had certainly purſued; when by the ſudden Arrival of Sir *Henry Middleton*, and a Summons from him to quit the Place as ſoon as poſſible, the whole Scene was changed, and all Deſigns of that Kind for ever laid aſide. We had now done with courting the falſe and perfidious *Turks* for a Trade; the General was come back from the *Indies* with a full Deſign of Revenge, and the Infidels that had hitherto abus'd us, were no longer to be excus'd from making Satisfaction. Theſe were his Reſolutions; tho' I could have wiſh'd firſt to have ſeen what the *Turks* would have done with us, and what would have been the Reſult of our perſonal Application to the Baſha; whether they would have granted us a fair and quiet Traffick, according to the Intent of the Grand Signior's Letters, or have gone on in the ſame Road of Cheat and Abuſe to the End of the Chapter. There were ſeveral ſtrong Suſpicions of ill Deſigns a-foot; yet the Captain of the Gallies now ſent poſitive Word, that the Baſha had commanded the Aga to ſhew us all imaginable Kindneſs, to let us have a public Warehouſe in *Moba*, and a Factory ſettled there without any more ado; and beſides to take Care for the ſafe Conduct and good Accommodation of thoſe *Engliſh* Merchants in their Journey to *Zenan* to him. But a Man is ever at a Loſs that has to do with People of ſuch a Principle and Diſpoſition as the *Turks* are; a People that can flatter and deceive perfectly, hide an ill Deſign ſo artfully, deal ſo rudely when out of Fear and Danger, and ſpeak ſo fairly when under any uneaſy Apprehenſions.

In ſhort, theſe flattering Methods of the *Turks* did no good; and as Sir *Henry Middleton* perſiſted in his Deſign of forcing Satisfaction from them; ſo I concluded to join with him in ſo juſt an Attempt, and in Purſuance thereof, got clear of *Moba*, and came up with my Ships to his.

What was done in Conſequence of this Junction, and in what Manner they made themſelves Satisfaction for the Injuries received, has been already related in the Voyage of Sir *Henry Middleton*; we ſhall therefore proceed, with Captain *Saris*, in giving an Account of his further Tranſactions in the Purſuit of Trade.

Having ſeen the laſt Reſult of our Affairs in the *Red-Sea*, ſays the Captain, we ſet Sail in Proſecution of our *Indian* Voyage, directing our Courſe firſt to *Bantam*. We put in by the Way at *Socotora* for a Bargain of Aloes, it being about this Time of the Year that the King of that Iſland had told us he ſhould be able to furniſh us with a Quantity. He held it up at a very high Rate, demanding 40 Rials of Eight *per* Kintal, which is 104 lb. Weight, alledging, that the *Portugueze* courted him to let them have the Refuſal of it, at that Price. We agreed with him for 30 Rials for one Parcel, and 38 for another, and had the Quantity of 4067 lb. which coſt us to the Value of 1418½ Rials of Eight; but we found him falſe both in his Word and Weight too, tho' we made no Breach with him upon that Score, for the Sake of future Trade.

After we had parted from this Iſland, we were one Night ſurprized with a ſtrange Sparkling and Glaring of the Water all about us. It was juſt before ſo dark, that we could not ſee half the Length of the Ship any Way round; and now there was ſuch a clear Sky on every Side, as would have ſerved to read by tolerably well. And this was not a ſudden Flaſh of Light, and preſently gone, but it held us for half an Hour's Sailing; and when the Philoſophy of the whole Fleet had been puzzled to find out the Cauſe of it, it was found at laſt to be a Parcel of Cuttle Fiſh ſwimming about us, that made that Appearance, and were ſo kind as to afford us the Aſſiſtance of their Light in a dark Night, when the Stars denied theirs.

When we came up with Cape *Comorin*, upon the *Malabar* Coaſt, we found that it is erroneouſly placed in the common Plans, lying conſiderably more northerly than they make it; for whereas the Latitude is generally reckoned 6 Deg. 10 Min. we found it 7 Deg. 42 Min. to the North of the Line. Beſides, we had no Sight of any of thoſe Iſlands mentioned in our Plans; particularly, we ſaw none of the *Maldives*, which are ſo very numerous, according to the vulgar Account, neither did we deſcry any Land, till we ſaw the Main of *Malabar*.

We came to an Anchor at *Bantam* Road the latter End of this Month, where we found ſeveral Ships of our own Nation, as alſo *Dutch*, and more of ours every Day expected. The Arrival of all theſe Ships, and the Expectation of ſo many more, made a ſtrange Alteration in the Price of Commodities; thoſe in any Requeſt being hoiſted up to three Times the Value of what they were ſold for but two Days before. Cloves, which went but at 16 Rials the Pecul, were now riſen to above 40; and the Price of Pepper increaſed in a far greater Proportion; the Pecul tried by our *Engliſh* Weights, bears about 132 lb. At the Time of our being here, the Protector was all in all in the Country; the King, tho' of Age, did nothing but fill up the Throne, and enjoy his Pleaſures, committing all Buſineſs to the ſole Management of the Protector.

The main Buſineſs done here this Seaſon, was laying in 12 or 14,000 Sacks of Pepper for the Lading two of my Ships to be ſent to *England*; and all this we had at ſeveral Prices, from 160 to 125 Rials the 100 Sacks, and all of the *Chineſe* Merchants, who are the great Dealers here. Beſides this, we took in 700 Sacks of the ſame Commodity, for a Trial how it would go off at *Japan*; for thither I was bound from this Place, intending to make the firſt Attempt at ſettling an *Engliſh* Factory upon that Iſland. Mr. *William Adams*, one of our Nation, was at this Time in very great Repute and Favour with the Emperor there; he had been in *Japan* ever ſince the Year 1600, and was in very good Circumſtances; and we received Letters from him at *Bantam*, giving us great Hopes of a good Reception, and a profitable Trade in that Country.

My two Ships, the *Hector* and *Thomas*, being ſent laden for *England*, I weighed out of the Road for *Japan* with my biggeſt Ship the *Clove*. The next Day, having *Pulo-Lack* on our Starboard, and paſſing between two little Iſlands that lay to the Eaſtward of it, we had the Misfortune to run aground, and ſtuck faſt for ſome Hours in a very forlorn Condition. This Accident was occcaſioned by a Shoal in that Paſſage, which has not above Six Feet Water on the Top of it, nor is above half a Cable's Length every Way; hard aboard it there's ten Fathom, and the next Caſt on Ground, as we found.

The latter End of *February*, we came up with the Iſland of *Bachian* (called by the *Engliſh* Sailors *Halebolin)* which is one of the *Moluccas*, and very eaſily known by the Proſpect it yields, being a high copped round Iſland, and very different in Shape from the other Iſlands there-abouts. The Point of this Iſland bears E. N. E. four Leagues off, and Latitude 1 Deg. 16 Min. we found the Current ſetting N. E. and the high Land of *Machian* bearing N. by E. and Lat. 51 Min. we had ſetting to the N. N. E. *Bachian* has been famous for the Production of Cloves, and would ſtill have maintained its Reputation for the ſame Commodity, did not the unhappy Commotions there diſturb the Labours of the Natives.

They are all together by the Ears in a Civil War; and while they are forming Plots and Stratagems to deſtroy one another, the Clove Tree ſtands neglected, and the noble Spice rots upon the Ground. The *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* (who both make Pretenſions to this Place) ſtand by and ſee the Contentions of theſe *Bachians* with no ſmall Pleaſure; and if they did not at firſt make the Quarrel betwixt them, yet they do their utmoſt to foment and increaſe it. They ſit ſecure in their ſtrong Forts, diverting themſelves with the Proſpect of the Spoil theſe People make of one another; and leſt their Paſſions ſhould cool, and the raging Fit go off, they halloo them on with all the Eagerneſs poſſible, continually inſpiring them with freſh Jealouſies and Suſpicions; ſo that the Feud holds up to its Height, and muſt be immortal, while theſe Incendaries are amongſt them, at leaſt while there is a Race of People left who will be ſo fooliſh as to hearken to their Suggeſtions.

Thus theſe cunning Foreigners endeavour to widen the Breach, inſtead of helping to make it up in an amicable Manner; for that would not anſwer their Deſign; for the inverted Proverb is true as well as the direct, That when honeſt People fall together by the Ears, the Knaves that ſtand by lay hold of their Right; let the Natives deſtroy one another, and then the Iſland is their own, without any further Coſt or Trouble. The poor Natives groan under theſe Calamities, and would be heartily glad to be rid of the troubleſome Company of the *Dutch*, as they freely confeſſed to me, wiſhing that the *Engliſh* were planted here in their Room. The King would fain have come on Board the Ship, but the *Dutch* obliged him to forbear; and the People would have ſold us Cloves too, but the Terror of the *Dutch* kept them in ſuch Awe, that they declared it was hazarding their Lives to do it.

And yet the Strength of the *Dutch* there is inconſiderable; for, according to the Report of the Captain himſelf, their Fort, tho' ſtrong and ſubſtantially built, is not furniſhed with above thirteen Pieces of Ordnance, and thirty Soldiers, a trifling Power to ſtrike ſuch a Terror into a whole Country; but the great Guns are the main Buſineſs, and a ſmall Number of Men, with a Train of Artillery on their Side, may command a vaſt Multitude, furniſhed no better than theſe *Indians* are. But it is to be hoped the *Dutch* will be ſtronger in Time, and have a Troop of Soldiers of their own Breed, to fight the *Bachians*, ſince they have taken Care to furniſh the Fort well with Women, ſome of their own Country, and thoſe of ſo large a Size, that they were a good Garriſon themſelves, fit to defend the Fort without any other Aſſiſtance, and certainly cannot fail of bringing very luſty Soldiers into the World.

This Band of *Amazons* followed the *Dutch* Captain to our Ship, and preſently falling to the Victuals with the common Sailors, gave ſo good Proof of their Ability that Way, that if it be anſwerable in other Reſpects, the Men may even go to Sleep, and turn over the Care of the Fort to theſe Females; one of whom is almoſt big enough to ſtop any Breach an Adverſary ſhould make in their Walls.

The Town of *Bachan* ſtands hard by the Fort, and whoever would come to anchor out of the Command of the Guns, may do it on the Eaſt-ſide of the Bay, in twelve, ſixteen, and twenty Fathom Water, hard Coral Ground, at the Opening or going out, near a little Iſland, taking Care of a Shoal that lies to the Southward of the Fort, in Latitude 30 Minutes. The Variation of the Compaſs here is 4 Deg. 48 Min. Eaſterly.

The State of this Iſland not allowing any Trade, we ſailed away for *Machian*, another of the *Moluccas*, the rather, being invited thereto by a *Moor* of Quality in this Place, who promiſed good Store of Cloves there, and furniſhed us with Pilots for the Voyage.

The Proſpect of *Machian* and *Tydore* is ſomething like that of *Backian*, being high copp'd Iſlands, only *Tydore* is not ſo high Land as *Machian*, it is ſhut into the Point of the Weſtern-ſide of the outermoſt Iſle of the three, that lie in the going out, two of them being without the Narrow or Streight, and the third makes the Streight itſelf, tho' there are more Iſlands on the Eaſtern Side.

About the Middle of *March* we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Peleberg*, hard by the Town of *Tabanee*, in *Machian*, where there is the beſt Riding of the whole Iſland (tho' very near the Shore) and free from all Danger.

The ſame Day we came we took in a Quantity of Cloves, the Price at ſixty Rials of Eight *per* Bahar, the Bahar containing 200 Cattees, and each Cattee amounting to the Value of 3 lb. 5 oz. *Engliſh*.

The *Dutch* were highly diſguſted at our coming hither, and as inquiſitive to know who directed us to this Place, threatening all with Plagues and Death, that had been concerned in the Matter, if they could find them out; and particularly that they would treat thoſe with the utmoſt Severity, that ſhould offer to bring any Spice to us. They pretended to have conquered this Country by juſt Arms, and to have a good and lawful Title to it; and therefore told us we were injurious to come and pretend here, where they had ſo fairly planted themſelves.

But, as theſe ſpecious Pretences would never prove them to have a good and lawful Title to this Country, or ſuch a Property in it as to exclude others from Trade, were little regarded by us, and their Threatnings, as little valued by the Natives, who found us to be their Friends, and came not to attempt any Thing againſt their rightful Liberties and Privileges, but only to eſtabliſh a Commerce to the mutual Advantage of both Parties; and therefore they would not be curbed by the *Dutch*, but declared they would come aboard us, and bring us Spice, notwithſtanding their imperious Orders to the contrary. And they were as good as their Word, maintaining their Trade with us, in ſpite of the inſolent *Hollanders*; we barter'd *Cambaya* Cloth for Cloves, and ſome we ſold for ready Money.

But the induſtrious Malice of our Adverſaries quickly oppoſed itſelf by more effectual Methods to overturn this good Correſpondence, and the Natives, who ſaw it, informed us of it, and at the ſame Time repined at their ill Uſage, and that they were not able to relieve themſelves or us.

The *Dutch*, it ſeems, got an Order from the Prince of *Ternate*, commanding all the Iſlanders, upon Pain of Death, to forbear bringing any Cloves to us; and to make ſure, they guarded all the Avenues and Paſſes of the Iſland, by which all poſſible Communication was cut off between us and the Shore. They drained all their Forts and Garriſons, and brought out their whole Power to watch upon the Coaſts, and attend the Motion of the Natives, and our Ship; nay, more, they ſent to *Tydore* for a Couple of their great Ships to come and beat us out of the Road; and now the Natives, who knew no better, expected to ſee us driven away with a Vengeance.

In the mean Time, the Prince of *Ternate* (whom I had endeavoured before to qualify with a good Preſent) came to give me a Viſit on Ship-board, and in the Midſt of the good Entertainment, very frankly promis'd to ſtand our Friend in the Matter of Trade, to revoke that invidious Order the *Dutch* had extorted from him to our Prejudice, and give the Natives a full Licence to bring their Spice to us.

But this Prince (as the Event proved) was afraid to diſpleaſe the *Dutch*, and durſt not be true to his Word; tho', to do him Juſtice, I believe he had a Mind to be ſo. The Coaſts were all faſt lock'd up; and the Spies upon the Sea ſo vigilant in their Watch, that all the Arts that could be uſed to deceive the quick-ſighted Jealouſy of our Adverſaries, were to no Purpoſe. The *Dutch* Ships kept cloſe to us, but made no Offer to aſſault us; and ſince to have gotten the Trade, we muſt have firſt ſunk them at Sea, and then have beaten all their Forces at Land, we even left the *Dutch* to enjoy their Repoſe, and ſail'd away out of the Road.

But good Luck, which was not over-ready to attend us while we ſtaid there, began to follow us when we went away: For as we ſailed along, the Natives (who watch'd for an Opportunity as heartily as the *Dutch*) having their Cloves ready, whipped them aboard in a Trice; and this they continued for ſome Time, as faſt as we could weigh and pay for them. The *Dutch* follow'd, and perhaps were ſenſible of this, but were not able to prevent it; for we were got ſo far to the Windward of them, that the Bargains were all made and concluded, before they could come to ſpoil them. We bought thus, at parting, a conſiderable Quantity of Spice, and had done a great deal more, if the People had not been frighted at the Sight of a *Dutch*

Dutch Veſſel paſſing by: However, it was pretty well, and ſo much the better, inaſmuch as it was wreſted out of the Hands of thoſe who unjuſtly have engroſſed the whole Commodities to themſelves.

We directed our Courſe now to the Iſle of *Tydore*, the two *Dutch* Ships plying after us.

The *Spaniard*'s Fort at *Tydore*, ſtands on the Eaſt Side of the Iſland, all about which the Water is very deep, and no good Anchoring, tho' there is a particular Place about a League and a Half from the Fort, where a Ship may ride well enough. At our firſt coming within Sight and Reach of the Fort, we were welcomed with a Shot or two made at us; which tho' it did us no Harm, yet obliged us to be upon our Guard. The *Spaniards*, it ſeems, took us for *Flemings*, and notwithſtanding our *Engliſh* Colours would not believe the contrary till they had ſent out a Boat to parley with us, and ſatisfy themſelves from our own Mouths. And the Reaſon of this was, becauſe the *Dutch* had ſometimes cheated them, by hanging out *Engliſh* Colours inſtead of their own, and under that Protection had got by the Fort, which otherwiſe they would not have done. For the *Spaniards* would have beat their Ships in Pieces before they would let them paſs here.

When the *Spaniards* knew who we were, they were extreamly civil to us: The Captain-General ſent his Pilot-major to bid us Welcome, and bring the Ship into the beſt Anchoring-place; they ſent us Preſents, and came to Treats a Ship-board; and there was ſuch a Reciprocation of Kindneſſes betwixt us, as if our two Nations had never fallen out, and we had been all of a Piece, both in our civil and religious Intereſts.

They promiſed likewiſe, to diſpatch Letters to the Maſter de Camp at *Ternate*, for his Orders to trade with us, and earneſtly entreated our Stay till the Return of the Meſſengers; and when News came that Orders were arrived at *Tydore*, the Captain-General, and another Great Officer ſent Word, that they would come aboard the next Day to do Buſineſs. We made ready to receive them, and by the Noiſe of the great Guns, thought verily they had been coming; when we found that Shooting to be for the Arrival of the warlike Prince of *Tydore*, who was come Home with the Heads of 100 *Ternatians*, and amongſt them, the Head of the Prince of *Ternate*, whom we had careſſed at *Machian*.

This Prince of *Ternate* was called over to *Machian* by the *Dutch*, on Purpoſe to keep the Country People from ſelling their Cloves to us; and the *Tydorians*, who attended his Motions in going back, and lay in Ambuſh for him and his Company, artfully drew them into their Snares, and making a ſudden and furious Aſſault upon them, cut them all off to the Number of 160 Men: The young Prince himſelf underwent the Fate of War amongſt the reſt, and his Head was brought in a very triumphant Manner, for a Preſent to his Siſter, Wife to the Conqueror, Prince of *Tydore*.

Beſides this, there were two other Royal Victims fell at the ſame Time, the younger Brother of the Prince of *Ternate*, and the King of *Gilolo*. The *Dutch* had often felt the Effects of the Force and Courage of this Prince, and it was but a little before, that he had ſurprized and took one of their Men of War.

We were now obliged to keep double Watch and Ward, and be in all the Readineſs imaginable to withſtand an Aſſault, having this daring Prince ſo near us. Beſides, the *Spaniards* increaſed their Forces, and ſeemed preparing for ſome Attempt; all which appeared doubtful and ſuſpicious, and were Symptoms of ſo threatning an Aſpect, that I reſolved to prevent the Danger that might follow, by a ſudden Remove away from them. 'Tis true, the Prince of *Tydore* promiſed a good Parcel of Cloves if we ſtaid a little longer; but thoſe Cloves might poſſibly have coſt us too dear; and ſuch a Deſperado as he, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, might have ſold us a very bad Bargain, and ſo we left him to ſell his Cloves to other Chapmen, being reſolved to take none upon theſe Terms.

It may not be amiſs, before we take our Leave of theſe *Molucca* Iſles, to give ſome Account of the Original of the *European* Intereſt there, the Fortune of the Country, under its ſeveral Maſters, and the civil Circumſtances of it as to Trade and Commerce, at the Time of our being there.

The *Portugueze*, we know, were the firſt *Europeans* that found the Way to theſe Iſlands; at leaſt, that open'd a Correſpondence with them. When they came hither, they found a dreadful War commenc'd between the Kings of *Ternate* and *Tydore*. Theſe two Princes had drawn their Swords, and the whole Intereſt of the *Moluccas* being divided between them, either as their Subjects or Confederates, all the Iſlands were up in Arms, and became Seconds in the ſame Quarrel. The *Portugueze*, for the better ſettling themſelves, join'd neither Party, but pretended to be Friends to both; and conſequently having no Work upon their Hands, while the others fought, they fell to building Forts and Caſtles upon both the Iſlands of *Ternate* and *Tydore*. They left the two Kings to diſpute which ſhould be Maſter of the other's Country; and in the mean Time took Care, that neither of them ſhould be ſo, or rather to make both of them their Vaſſals. By this Means, they got the whole Clove-trade into their Hands; the *Moluccas* were abſolutely at their Command, and endured the Yoke of their domineering Power, till the Year 1605.

But the *Dutch* (who were charm'd with ſuch a Proſpect as the *Moluccas* yielded) then took their Turn for a Taſte of their Profit and Pleaſure of them, drove out the *Portugueze* by main Force, and planted themſelves in their Room. But they were ſcarcely well-ſeated there, before the *Spaniards* came and deſired them to remove, and by the ſame Law that the *Dutch* ſucceeded the *Portugueze*, they forced themſelves to be Succeſſors to the *Dutch*, in the Enjoyment of thoſe Iſlands.

The *Spaniards* were got into the *Philippine* Iſlands, at the ſame Time that the *Portugueze* were at the *Moluccas*, but they would not offer to diſplace them, being not only Neighbours in Country, but Brethren in Religion, and Sons of the ſame Holy Church: But the great Thing was, that the Pope had commanded them not to meddle; the Church gave Orders to the contrary; otherwiſe, if the Mother had not interpoſed her Authority, it's like enough that theſe good Children of hers might have ſquabbled, and gone together by the Ears, about ſo fine a Toy as the *Moluccas* were. Whereas the *Dutch* had hardly Time to look about them, before the Catholicks came from the *Philippines* to drive them away; they had no Pope of their Side, no Intereſt in the motherly Care and Protection of the Church; and therefore, as a ſpurious and baſtardly Race, were to be expell'd, and not ſuffer'd to ſhare the Inheritance of thoſe Parts with her own genuine Offspring. However, the *Dutch* (who value not the Ratling of the Keys, the Snarling of the Pope, nor the Curſes of the Church; that fear no Storms, but thoſe at Sea, nor no Excommunication, but that from a good Trade) were ſome Time after that even with them; working themſelves ſo effectually into theſe Iſlands, that all the Endeavours of the *Spaniards* have not been able to remove them ſince. They have Forts more or leſs upon every one of the Iſlands, and ſome of them ſtrong and well furniſh'd; ſo that now they ſeem to be ſo well fixed. that unleſs the Church can drive them out by her Prayers, or other ſpiritual Weapons, they are like to ſtay there.

Of all theſe Iſlands, *Machian* is the moſt rich and fruitful of Cloves, and yields in the Year of the Great Monſon (as they call it) above 1800 Bahars. *Ternate* yields 1000; *Tydore* 900; *Bachian* 300; *Motiere* 600; *Meau* 50; *Batta China*, or *Gilolo*, 35. Theſe are the Proportions, according to the Account of the Inhabitants, one Year with another. Every third Year is conſiderably more fruitful than the two foregoing, and this is called the Year of the Great Monſon, when Nature ſeldom fails by an extraordinary Bounty, to make amends for her Sparingneſs at another Time.

The *Dutch* pretend a Contract of perpetual Obligation with the Natives for all their Cloves, at the Rate of 50 Rials of Eight *per* Bahar: As for our Parts, we were willing to give 60, in order to have a quick Lading; and that Increaſe of the Price of 10 Rials in the Bahar, made the People ſo ready to furniſh us, that if the *Dutch* had not perfectly fear'd them, and kept them in by Force, I ſhould have had my full Lading in one Month's Time.

Our Trade with them was moſtly by the Way of Barter, and that chiefly of the Cloths of *Cambaya* and *Coromandel*.

Having ſtaid ſome Time at *Tydore* to no Purpoſe, and our Stay there likely to be attended with more Danger than Profit, we proceeded on our Voyage, calling in at *Ternate* by the Way; where we found as little Good to be done as at *Tydore.*

Between the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards*, all thoſe Iſlands are ſo managed, that they themſelves, alone, have the entire Advantage of them; they devour all, and then are ſo ſpiteful, that they would rather chuſe to ſee the Commodities ſpoil'd and confounded, than to ſuffer any others to take them at a good Price.

Sailing along from *Ternate*, we had an Eaſterly Current continually, till we came up with the great Iſland *Doy*; and all about the Northern Point of that Iſland, the Current ſet very ſtrongly the ſame Way. We found here a very large Bay, where there is good Anchoring enough, but pretty deep; and off the Northern Point, lies a great Shoal half a League into the Sea. We found no People upon this Iſland, but other Creatures in ſome Plenty, which we had more Occaſion for at that Time. There were a very large Sort of Swine and Deer, Pheaſants, Woodcocks, and Wood-pidgeons, the latter very plump and long-bodied like Hens. It yields likewiſe good Store of Cokers, Penangs, Serie, and Palmitos, and the Tops of theſe Palmito-Trees, dreſs'd with Beef, are as good and ſweet as any Cabbage in the World. And that nothing might be wanting to our compleat Refreſhment, we had Water and Wood enough, not only for our preſent Supply, but to make what Proviſion we pleaſed for our future Wants.

Tho' no People appear'd, yet upon Inſpection aſhore, we found the Ruins of Houſes, and certain old Pieces of Houſhold-ſtuff; ſo that it's certain the Iſland had been inhabited, as it very well deſerved to be, tho' the People by ſome Calamity or other, were deſtroyed, or driven away from their Habitations.

This *Doy* is the North Eaſtermoſt Iſland of *Gilolo*, or *Batta-china*. The Latitude here is 2 Deg. 35 Min. N. and the Variation 5 Deg. 30 Min. Eaſterly. We refreſhed at this Place for the better Part of a Month, and then purſued our Voyage to *Japan*.

Having paſſed the Tropic of *Cancer*, we had Sight of the Iſles *Dos Reyes Magos*, which lie along N. E. and S. W. They are ſmall Iſlands, and ten or eleven in Number, with broken Ground and Breaches, reaching over to each Iſland, ſo that we could diſcern no Paſſage to the Weſtward.

We had Sight of various other Iſlands (in our Paſſage from theſe) but wholly unknown to us; but the next Land that came in View, that we were certain of, was the great Iſland of *Ximo*, to the Southward of *Japan*, and a Part of that Empire, called by the Inhabitants *Maſhma*. Here ſome of the Natives that were abroad a Fiſhing came up to us with their Boats, in the Contrivance of which we found ſome Curioſity worth our Obſervation. They were about five Ton apiece. But then, fitted with one Sail, which ſtood like that of a Skiff, and ſkulled with four Oars of a Side. Their Oars reſted on a Pin at the Top of the Boat-ſide, the Head of which Pin was ſo ſet into the Middle Part of the Oar, that the Oar being in an exact Poize, gave thereby much leſs Trouble to the Rower in the Management of it, than otherwiſe it muſt be. Beſides, the Rowers perform their Work ſtanding, as ours do ſitting, and ſo take up much leſs Room in the Boats; and alſo leſs Time, and row at a far ſwifter Rate than we can pretend to. We agreed with ſome of theſe to pilot us to *Firando*; which they very willingly agreed to, and as honeſtly performed, and brought us ſafe into the Road.

For our firſt Welcome, we had a Viſit from Perſons of no leſs Figure than the old and the young King of this Iſland of *Firando*, which is a Part of the Dominions of the large Empire of *Japan*. The two Kings advanced with a great Shew of Boats and Galleys, which, when they were near us, fell back, and made Way, in a very decent Manner, for the two principal Galleys to come up to the Ship.

They were both dreſſed in ſilken Gowns girt about them, and a Pair of Flaxen Breeches next to their Bodies; they had no Stockings on, but Shoes or Sandals; the fore-part of their Heads very cloſe ſhaven, their Hair behind long, and tied up in a Knot, but they had neither Hats, Caps, nor Turbans. They had each of them two Cattans (or Swords of that Country) girt by their Sides, the one half a Yard, and the other a Quarter long; a deſperate Kind of Weapon, and nothing inferior to the *Indian* Criſes, or *Turkiſh* Scimitars.

Their Maner of Salutation was thus: Firſt, they put off their Shoes, then clapping their Right-hand within their Left, they put them down towards their Knees, and ſo in that ſtooping Poſture waved their Bodies, ſliding to and fro, and all the while crying out, *Augh*, *Augh*, which is a Word of Compliment and Welcome amongſt them.

They were highly pleaſed with the Entertainment we gave them, and our *Engliſh* Muſic made no ſmall Part of the Diverſion and Pleaſure a Shipboard; they made no Scruple of granting all the Encouragement and Kindneſs that Country could afford us, eſpecially on preſenting of our King's Letter, which they received with a wonderful Joy and Satisfaction. This Letter the King would not pretend to open, till he had ſent for *Auge*, as he called him, to interpret it to him. *Auge*, in their Language, ſignifies a Pilot; and the Perſon intended by it, was no other than Mr. *Adams* our Countryman and Friend, and at this Time a Man of no little Note and Significancy in *Japan*. A Diſpatch was immediately ſent away for him; as likewiſe to the great Emperor up in the Country, to give Notice of our Arrival and Buſineſs.

After theſe two great Perſonages had been with us, all the Lords and great Men came aboard us in a full Body, and with ſuch a Train, that we hardly knew where to beſtow them. But they were ſo far from coming to ſpend upon or be chargeable to us, that they brought their own Entertainment along with them, (at leaſt as much as it was worth) every Nobleman made his Preſent, ſome in Veniſon, ſome in wild Fowl, and others in Fiſh, Fruits, or ſomething or other acceptable and good. They mightily admired the Structure and Contrivance of the Ship, viewed it in all its Parts, and ſurvey'd it from one End to the other, with ſo much Attention and Curioſity, that we thought they would never have enough of the Sight.

But we had more Trouble with the common People, who were our next Viſitants, and ſoon ſupplied the Place of the Lords, when once they were gone. It was impoſſible to keep them away, the Ship was ſuch a Wonder to them; and when we were as full as ever we could ſtand wedged together, the reſt contented themſelves with gazing upon the Ship out of their Boats; ſome admired the Head, ſome the Stern, and others the Tackling; and at the ſame Time crouded ſo much about her, that ſhe could no more ſtir for Boats, than we could that were in her for Swarms of People. In ſhort, I believe, if the Ship had been big enough, the whole Nation would have come aboard at once; and as it was, if the King's Order had not prevented them, they would certainly have taken their Turns all round the Country, and never left till every Body had ſeen it. 'Tis true, the People were very civil, and far from offering any Thing of Rudeneſs or Violence; they pretended to no more than a little ſtaring or peeping about; but that Curioſity of theirs was ſo unwearied, and grew ſo troubleſome to us, that we were forced to deſire the Preſence of an Officer of the King's, as well to prevent any Diſorder that might happen in ſuch a promiſcuous Multitude, as to give us a little Reſpite from theſe tireſome Viſits.

I cannot but take Notice of an odd Miſtake in a Matter of Devotion, made by ſome of the *Japoneſe* Ladies, whom I admitted into my Cabin. Theſe were ſome whom the *Portugueze Jeſuits* had been at Work upon, and had received from them ſome little Matters of Chriſtianity, about as much as the ſaying of a few Gibberiſh Prayers, or the Cringing before an Image or Picture might come to.

The good Women being in the Cabin, chanced to caſt their Eyes on a Picture of *Venus* and *Cupid* that hung there; on the Sight of which they were immediately ſeized with a Fit of Devotion, and clapp'd upon their Knees without any more to do, tumbling out all the Religion they had learned of the Fathers; and very zealous they were in their Addreſſes to the two modeſt Deities there painted before them. They miſtook this Pair for the Virgin *Mary* and her Son, whom the *Jeſuits* had given ſo ſlender an Account of, that they knew no Difference between them and *Cupid* and *Venus*.

Soon after the King came aboard again, and was ſo complaiſant and free, as to bring ſome of his Miſtreſſes and Ladies of Pleaſure along with him, a ſingular Proof of the free, open, and generous Temper of the *Japoneſe*, ſo different from the ſour, moroſe, and jealous Diſpoſition that univerſally prevails among the *Mahometans*, who cloiſter up their Women in Seraglios, where they live like ſo many Priſoners of State, inviſible to all human Eyes, except thoſe of the Eunuchs, and their Paramours. Theſe Ladies had, all of them, very good Complexions, comely and graceful Features, and extremely well behaved; ſomewhat ſhort in their Stature; and as for Colour, they borrowed the Aſſiſtance of Art, and painted themſelves, ſince Nature had not done it.

Their Habit was a ſilken Gown, girt cloſe about them; had no Stockings, but a Sort of Buſkins, bound with Ribbon about their Inſtep; their Hair, which was very black and long, handſomely tied up upon the Crown of their Heads, but no where ſhaven as the Mens was.

They ſung very finely, and play'd upon ſeveral Sorts of Inſtruments; one of which was very like our Lute in the Shape of it, and fretted like that, only longer in the Neck, and had four Strings, not Wire, but Gut. In their Play they don't ſound the Inſtrument with their Fingers, but touch the Strings with a little Piece of Ivory, like our playing on the Cittern with a Quill. They have their Songs for vocal Muſic, and their Leſſons for inſtrumental, methodically prick'd down in their Muſic Books, as we have; and thoſe Books have the Diviſions of Lines and Spaces for the ſeveral Notes, much like ours; tho' what the material Differences are between the Muſic of this Country and ours, I cannot pretend to ſay.

The King having invited us to come aſhore, to fix upon a Houſe for the Reception of ourſelves and our Goods, we went to do that neceſſary Buſineſs; as alſo to pay a reſpectful Viſit to the King himſelf, who had made us ſo many, and that in ſo familiar a Manner; beſides we had the very good Errand of delivering him a Preſent from our King, of the Value of about 140 *l.* This was taken extremely kind; and a noble Feaſt, (after the *Japan* Manner) was made to expreſs how welcome the Bringers of it were.

They ſit at Meat in the ſame Poſture as ſome of the Eaſtern Nations do, croſs-legg'd, upon rich Carpets and Mats; and I think are as good Drinkers as moſt of the Eaſtern Nations too, at leaſt when a Health is called. The old King, notwithſtanding his Age, turned off his Cup (that held near a Quart) of Spirits, diſtill'd from Rice, full as ſtrong as our *Aqua Vitæ*, without ſtopping, till he come to the Bottom; and all the *Japaneſe* Lords there preſent, did the ſame, and I myſelf, for Company, was obliged to do the like, it being a Health to the King of *England*.

Having a Houſe provided for us, we brought Part of our Effects aſhore, and attended the Beginnings of a Trade. At our firſt coming, we found Broad Cloths of 15 or 16 *l.* a Cloth, to be ſold by the *Dutch* in *Firando*, at 48 Rials of Eight, which is 8*l.* *Sterling* the Matt, that being two Yards and a Quarter. But we being deſirous to keep up the Price of our Cloths, and finding the *Dutch* had good Store of them, came to this Agreement with them, that we of both Sides ſet Rates upon the Cloths we had, and be punctual in not ſelling any under the Prices determined by us.

But they made no Scruple to break this Agreement, and preſently ſhipp'd off great Quantities of

Cloth for ſeveral Iſlands hereabouts, ſetting them at baſe low Prices, for the ſpeedy Vent of their own, and glutting the Places before ours came.

The *Bantam* Pepper ungarbled, which at *Bantam* coſt 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Rial of Eight *per* Sack, was worth here, at our coming, 10 Tays the Pecul, which is 100 Cattees, and makes about 130 *l.* *Engliſh*; and the Taye is 5 *s.* *Sterling.* A Rial of Eight, in common Payment, goes but for ſeven of their Maſſes, which amounts to about 3 *s.* 6 *d.* in our Money. Tin went at 30 Tayes the Pecul, Elephant's Teeth at 80, Iron-caſt Pieces at 6, Powder at 23, Aloes Succotrina at 6 Tayes the Cattee, Fowling-Pieces at 80 Cattees a-piece, Calicoes, and *Coromandel* and *Guzurat* Commodities at uncertain Prices, as they were in Goodneſs.

At the Iſle *Maſhma*, (or *Ximo*) there ſeemed to be good Vent for moſt of the Commodities we bring into theſe Parts; tho' it was not ſo much upon our own Experience, as that of the *Dutch*, we came to underſtand this: For they did all they could to conceal the Trade of that Place from us, and would not be known to have ſold a Pennyworth of Goods there. But we had Notice, that they not only made a good Market there, but returned good Store of Bars of Silver, which they endeavoured to keep as ſecret as they could. And they were pleaſed to uſe that cunning Fetch in theſe Parts, which they have done in ſeveral other Parts of the World, for their own Advantage, but not at all to ours, and that is, to call themſelves *Engliſhmen*, expecting more Reſpect, and better Treatment, under that Name abroad, than otherwiſe, as *Dutchmen*, they could ever pretend to.

But the *Engliſh* Name has been far more ſullied and blacken'd by the ſcandalous Reports of the *Portugueze* Jeſuits; the *Japaneſe* knew us long before we came thither, but it was as a Parcel of Pirates and Rovers, that lived only upon the Spoil of other People, and were the Plagues of all the Seas in that Part of the World. And they had inſinuated this Notion ſo far into the *Japaneſe*, that they had made a Song of us to that Purpoſe, the ſinging of which they uſed to accompany with ſeveral Actions and Geſtures, ſhewing how we ſeize and plunder the *Spaniſh* Ships. And thus ſinging and acting, they uſed to ſcare their froward and brawling Children, to make them quiet; juſt as the *French* did theirs, with the Name of the Lord *Talbot*; and the *Turks* theirs, with the Name of *Scanderbeg*. But our Behaviour amongſt them convinced them, that the Jeſuits had given a falſe Pourtrait of us, and that the Picture was as much unlike the Original itſelf, as that of *Venus* is to that of the Virgin *Mary*.

The Laws in this Country are, in many Particulars, horribly ſtrict and ſevere, and Offenders are no where puniſhed ſo rigorouſly as in *Japan*. Duelling is here an unpardonable Crime, as well in the Natives as Foreigners; and the *Japaneſe* will not allow the Stain of Bloodſhed, in that Manner, to lie on their Country: Nay, if a Man does but draw a Weapon in Anger upon another, the Cattans are preſently at Work upon him, and he is cut to Pieces without farther Ceremony, tho' he has done no Harm, nor given any Wound to him he threaten'd: But if any Miſchief be done, not only the Aggreſſor himſelf, but all his Family, are involved in the Puniſhment, and the Law exerciſes the ſame Severity on them as on him.

To ſteal a Slave is Death without Mercy; or if the Thing wrongfully taken from another, be of ever ſo trifling a Nature, if the Fact be clearly proved, there is no Reprieve, nor Mitigation of the Sentence.

Their ſolemn Executions are performed with theſe Ceremonies following.

In the firſt Place, marches a Man with a Pick-axe, who is followed by another with a Shovel, to dig the Grave of the Malefactor, (if at leaſt that Favour be permitted him, for in the Caſe of ſome Crimes it is not) next to theſe comes a Perſon carrying a ſmall Table, upon which the Offence of the Criminal is written; then follows the Culprit himſelf, having his Hands bound behind him, and a little Banner is faſtened to him, on which his Crime is likewiſe written; the Executioner brings up the Rear, with his murdering Weapon by his Side, holding in his Hand the End of the Cord with which the condemned Man is bound, and on each Side of him walks a Soldier, reſting his Pike on the Shoulder of him who is to die, to prevent his attempting to make his Eſcape from Juſtice.

In this Manner I ſaw one led to Execution, who behaved with ſuch an Air of Courage, appeared ſo abſolutely intrepid, and above all the Horror of his approaching Fate, that I ſhould hardly have thought, had I not ſeen it, human Nature could have arrived at ſuch a Degree of Triumph over the Fears of Death, which are ſo natural to it.

But notwithſtanding the Rigour of the *Japaneſe*, in ſome Caſes, they are looſe and ſlack enough in others; a Thief muſt die, but a Whore or a Bawd may live, and have the Law on their Side. They have a great Number of Men amongſt them, whoſe only Buſineſs and Profeſſion is to pander and procure Whores for thoſe that want them. Every one of theſe has a Stock of Women of his own, bought with his own Money, and as ſome are of a finer, and ſome of a coarſer Mould, ſo he rates them at the Price for which he lets them out; it is left to his own Diſpoſition to ſettle this Point at firſt; but when once he has ſet his Price, he cannot raiſe, tho' he may fall it; but if he offers to exact any more, upon Complaint made, he certainly dies for it; ſo that the whole Affair is tranſacted with the Man; which done, the Woman is obliged to follow the Conditions of the Agreement. And the greateſt Noblemen in *Japan* make no Scruple of ſending for theſe lewd Fellows to the public Inns upon the Road, and agreeing with him for ſuch a Number of Wenches as he has a Mind to, and that in the moſt open Manner, as if they were driving a common Bargain, or treating of the moſt innocent Matter in a Way of Trade.

But the Panders, tho' in ſo great Requeſt while they live, are of all Men uſed the moſt contemptibly after they are dead; they are not allowed Burial like other Men, but, as the vileſt Creatures, are firſt dragg'd about the Streets, and thro' every Kennel, and being loaded with Filth and Mire, are left to rot upon ſome Dunghill in the Fields; a plain Demonſtration, that the *Japaneſe* think the Employment ſcandalous and odious, and yet at the ſame Time ſupport it with their lewd Practices, which otherwiſe would fall of Courſe.

While we were here, the King of *Goto* hearing the News of us and our Ship, came with an earneſt Deſire to ſee both, which he did to his great Satisfaction, and heartily invited us to come and trade at his Iſland, where he promiſed us as kind a Welcome as we had at *Firando*.

But we muſt now wait upon a far greater Prince, even the mighty Emperor of *Japan* himſelf. A Command was come for our Appearance at Court;

in order to which we prepared the ſeveral Preſents that were to be made to the Emperor, and the great Perſons about him. The old King of *Firando* furniſhed us with a Galley, and all Things neceſſary for our Paſſage. The beſt Part of my Company was left there, to inſpect the Affairs of the Houſe and Ship, in our Abſence, ſome few only going along with me to this grand Audience. Before we went, we had the Comfort of ſeeing our Countryman Mr. *Adams*, who was come to interpret our King's Letters to the old King of *Firando*: He ſtill gave us the ſame Encouragement concerning Trade in this Country, and the ſame Character of its good Diſpoſition thereto, by Word of Mouth, as he did by his Letters to us at *Bantam*.

Having ſet Sail from *Firando*, we paſſed by divers Iſlands, the moſt Part of which were well inhabited, and had fair Towns upon them; but the firſt of Note we put in at was *Fucate*, a large and conſiderable Place, not much leſs than *London*, within the Walls, well built, and ſo open, and uniform, that one might ſee from one End of a Street to another. It has a ſtrong Stone Caſtle, a good Ditch, and a Draw-bridge, all kept in good Repair, but without Soldiers, or Ordnance; as to Ordnance indeed, the *Japaneſe* were, at that Time, wholly without any.

All along this Coaſt, and ſo up to *Ozaca*, we found Women that lived with their whole Families upon the Water, getting their Livelihood by fiſhing, at which they were notable Artiſts; for what they miſſed with their Lines and Nets, they dived for, and never failed of catching; and this they would do with Eaſe, to the Depth of eight Fathom. Theſe Women were eaſily known from all others; for by continually diving, their Eyes look as red as Blood.

When we had paſſed the Streights of *Xeminaſeque*, the next Town of Note we came to was *Oſaca*, nothing inferior to the former in Compaſs and Dimenſions, and one of the principal Sea-Ports of the Empire. There is a River runs up to it as wide as the *Thames*, and ſeveral very fine Timber Bridges laid over it. It has a Caſtle very extraordinary for Bigneſs and Strength, with very deep Trenches about it, and ſeveral Draw-bridges artificially made, and Gates ſo plated with Iron, as may ſeem to bid Defiance to any Battery in the World. The whole Building of the Caſtle is of Free-ſtone, and the Walls are the ſame, but ſeven Yards thick, and put together without any Mortar or Cement, the Stones being ſo cut, as to be perfectly cloſe together, and need no other Binding. It is regularly contrived, ſtrengthened with Bulwarks and Battlements, with good Store of Loop-holes for Small Shot and Arrows, and various Paſſages for throwing out of Stones upon thoſe who ſhould come to attempt it. The particular Uſe the Emperor puts it to is this: In this Caſtle is lock'd up the true and genuine Heir of the Empire of *Japan*; here indeed he lives, but ſo happy as to be ignorant of his real Quality, Rights, and juſt Pretenſions, tho' at the ſame Time ſo unfortunate as to be excluded from all. The Truth is, the preſent Emperor is an Uſurper (this is to be underſtood of the Time Captain *Saris* was there) and ſtept into the Throne in a Way contrary to the Laws of that Kingdom, and to all Right and Juſtice. The old Emperor, Father to the young Prince, the Priſoner in the Caſtle, when he died, left this Son, then an Infant, to the Care and Tuition of four principal Noblemen, whereof *Ogoſhoſamma*, the preſent Emperor, was one, and Chief. The other three Governors, Men of Intrigue,

trigue, and ill Principles, made Pretenſions to the Sovereignty, and put in for the Crown themſelves. In Oppoſition to whom, and alſo to aſſert the Rights of the Royal Pupil, *Ogoſhoſamma* took up Arms, and having entirely routed the other Pretenders, had the ſupreme Power ſuddenly clapp'd all into his own Hands; and now he only wanted the Name of an Emperor, which was ſo ſmall a Thing, that he reſolved not to be without it any longer. The young Prince he kept always about him, and in perfect Ignorance of himſelf and his Relation to the Crown, ſuffering him to know no other than that he was his Son; all about him are ſuch as the Emperor had brought up from their Cradles, and ſo not able to give him any better Information. And to make all ſure, when he was grown to Years, he married him to his own Daughter, and ſo confined them to the Caſtle of *Oſaca*, where they live like the Children of an Emperor, as to all Points of State and Grandeur, except Liberty, which ſweetens all the reſt, and which civil Policy is pleaſed to deny them.

Over-againſt *Oſaca*, on the other Side of the River, lies another great Town, called *Sacay*, a Place of very great Trade for all the Iſles thereabouts.

At *Fuſhimi*, to which we came next, we found a Garriſon of 3000 Soldiers, appointed for the keeping ſome of theſe Parts in good Order. This Garriſon is ſhifted every third Year, and the Change happening when we came thither, we had the Advantage of ſeeing ſomething of the Rules of their military Diſcipline. They generally march no more than five a-breaſt, and to every ten Files an Officer is appointed, who regulates the March, and keeps all in perfect Order. Their Diſpoſition, according to the Quality of their Arms, is this. Firſt of all march their Shot, that is, Calivers, for Muſkets they have none, neither will they uſe any; then follow Pikes, then Cattans and Targets, Bows and Arrows, Waggadaſhes or Hooks, and laſtly, Calivers again cloſe the March; and amongſt all theſe, they have no Colours, Drums, Trumpets, nor any Sort of warlike Muſic. Their Companies conſiſt of uncertain Numbers, from 140 to 500, and in the Midſt of every Company, they have ſpare Horſes led, nobly trapp'd and furniſh'd.

The Captain comes laſt of all on Horſeback, but riding in ſuch a Poſture as would better befit a Mountebank, or a Market-man, than a Commander of Soldiers. His Bed, and all his Neceſſaries, are pack'd upon his own Horſe, and over them is ſpread a red *China* Felt for a Covering; and ſo the Captain ſits mounted up a-loft upon his Pack, with his Legs upon the Horſe's Neck, much like our Butter-women ſitting on their Paniers, and truly as handſomely.

As in Parts of the ſame Troop or Company, theſe Files that march next the Captain, are more pompous in their Furniture than thoſe that are remoter; ſo 'tis in whole Troops, thoſe that come the neareſt the General, who is laſt of all, are much more bravely accouter'd than thoſe that went before: The Glory of the Army ſinks and falls by equal Steps, from that where the General is, and where it ſhines with the brighteſt Luſtre.

The *Japaneſe* Horſes are not large nor tall, but of the Size of our middling Nags, ſmall-headed, and extremely mettleſome, far beyond your *Spaniſh* Genets, both in ſtately Carriage and Stomach too.

Their Soldiers obſerve very good Order upon the Road, and are ſo exactly govern'd, that they are as welcome at the public Houſes, as any Gueſts whatever. No Man is the leaſt diſturb'd or incommoded by them; they take what they find, as other People do, and pay for it, without any quarrelling. The Roads are very well furniſh'd with Houſes of Entertainment; and when their Soldiers are upon the March, they provide Victuals ready for them, ſo that they have, at an Inſtant's Warning, what they want, and that at very cheap Rates, a Dinner of good wholeſome Food, and enough, from Two Shillings downward to a Penny.

The Diet, generally uſed thro' the Country, is Rice of divers Sorts (the White being counted the beſt.) Fiſh, freſh and ſalted; Herbs, Radiſhes, Beans, Duck, Teal, Pheaſant, Partridge, Quail, and Hens: Of Beaſts, they have all Sorts of Deer, wild Boars, Goats, and Kine: Cheeſe alſo in great Plenty, but Butter they make none, neither will they eat any Milk, becauſe they eſteem it as the Blood of the Animal; and for what Reaſon I know not, they will not touch a Bit of a tame Beaſt, tho' they have them in Abundance.

Their Wheat is as plump and good as any our Nation can ſhew, but all of the red Colour. In our travelling thro' the Country, we bought Rice at a Halfpenny a Pound; Hens and Pheaſants, the beſt and fatteſt, at Three-pence apiece; Pigs, very large, for a Shilling; a fat Hog for five Shillings; a good Bullock for ſixteen Shillings; and a Goat at three Shillings.

Of Drinks, there are only two Sorts in this Country, the Spirits diſtill'd from Rice, very ſtrong, and of the Colour of Canary; and common Water, which is drank by the poor Sort of People, who cannot reach to the Price of the other: They always drink their Water warm, and ſay, it is good to kill the Worms in the Maw.

We had now got as far as our Way lay by Water; and now being to finiſh the Remainder of our Journey by Land, we were furniſhed with Horſes and all Conveniencies for that Purpoſe, at the Emperor's Charge. I had alſo a Palankin, or one of their Sedans, provided for me; and a freſh Supply of Men drawn out of every Place ſucceſſively, for the Office of carrying me therein, when I was tired of my Horſe; and for the greater State, a Slave was appointed to run before the Palankin with a Pike: The King's Harbingers alſo went before, and took up our Lodging upon the Road.

This Part of the Journey was pleaſant and eaſy; the Way for the moſt Part exceeding even and plain; and where there was any rugged mountainous Ground, a ſmooth level Paſſage was cut thro' it. This Road is all along Sand and Gravel, and divided into Leagues for the Benefit of Travellers, and at every League's End are two ſmall Hillocks, one of each Side; and upon each of them, a fair Pine-tree planted; the Deſign of which, is to make Travellers competent Judges of the Length of their Journey, that ſo they may not be impoſed on by the Hackney-men, and thoſe that hire out Horſes, and pay for a greater Number of Miles than they have rode.

All along the Road, you meet with Abundance of People paſſing to and fro, and frequently Towns and pleaſant Villages, Farms and Country Houſes, and ſometimes Temples at a little Diſtance in ſhady Groves, with Habitations of the Prieſts round about them.

The moſt unpleaſant Sight we had, was the dead Bodies of the Malefactors faſtened upon Croſſes, near all thoſe Towns where thoſe Executions had been performed. Crucifying is a very common Puniſhment in *Japan*, and very irkſome to Travellers,

vellers, to paſs by a Multitude of noiſome putrifying Carcaſſes, beſides the offenſive Smell that thoſe Bodies yield. At ***Suranga*** eſpecially, the City of the Emperor's Reſidence, there were Croſſes, Scaffolds, and Gibbets, Heads, Carcaſſes, and Limbs, hanging about in ſo many Places without the City, as greatly abated the Pleaſure in going to it.

Suranga ſeems as full as big as *London*, including the whole Compaſs of the Suburbs. The outer Parts of it are entirely occupied by Mechanics and Artificers of all Sorts, who are placed there for the Eaſe and Quiet of the genteeler People, who don't care to be diſturbed with the Noiſe and Buſtle the others make in their Trades.

After a Repoſe of a Day or two, I went with all my Company in a Body to the Caſtle, to have Audience of the Emperor, and deliver the Preſents intended for the Court. I was introduced by two of the greateſt Men then in Waiting, the Emperor's Secretary, and his Admiral. They led me firſt into a fine matted Room, where we ſat down for ſome Time, according to the Cuſtom, upon Mats; then they brought me into a Chamber of Preſence, where ſtood an empty Chair of State, to which I was obliged to do Reverence; after ſome ſhort Time, Word was brought, that the Emperor was come into the Room of Audience, to the Door of which theſe Courtiers brought me, but preſumed not to look in themſelves. The Cuſtom is, for all the Preſents that are brought, to be placed in Order upon the Mats of that Room in which the Emperor comes; and ſo, when I came in, I found them. He received his Majeſty's Letter with the Civility of that Country, lifting it up towards his Forehead, and then by his Interpreter, bid me Welcome. He deſired me to go and ſee the King his Son at *Eddo* (the Neceſſaries for which Journey he would take Care to furniſh me) and at my Return, his Letters ſhould be ready for our King.

Accordingly we ſet out for *Eddo*, the Reſidence of the young King, the Emperor's Son. The Country, between theſe two Cities, is well inhabited, the Towns and Villages lie thick, and the *Fotoquis*, or Temples, were ſeen ſcatter'd up and down in good Numbers.

There is one mighty Image, which they call *Dabis*, that ſtands in the Road, at which all the *Japaneſe* pay their Devotions, when they go this Way. It is made of Copper, hollow within, tho' very thick; 'tis in the Form of a Man kneeling on the Ground, with his Buttocks reſting on his Heels, and his Arms extended; repreſented wearing a Gown; and tho' it bends in that Poſture, is twenty Feet from the Level of the Ground, and the whole Body proportionably large. Some of our Men went into it, and fell a hollowing and whooping, which ſounded like the Bellowing of a Bull. It ſtands conveniently to entertain the Devotion of Pilgrims in their Paſſage to the famous Temple of *Tencheday*; they always make a Pauſe at *Dabis*. But this is but a ſlight Ceremony; 'tis at *Tencheday*'s Temple the great Work is to be done, and where the Pilgrims expect to receive the Reward of their Travel. And here one may ſee all Sorts of People, rich and poor, ſound and diſtemper'd, continually coming to, or going from it, Night and Day, all the Year round.

The Stories which the *Japaneſe* tell of their God *Tencheday*, are too fabulous to be related here; inſtead of which, I ſhall only offer what Mr. *Adams* told us upon his own Knowledge.

He ſays, there is certainly, every Month, one of the lovelieſt Virgins the whole Country can afford, brought into this Temple, and ſhut up alone in a very neat Apartment, and that at certain Times *Tencbeday*, comes to her in a viſible Form, and having enjoy'd her, reſolves any Doubts or Queſtions ſhe puts to him, according as the Prieſts inſtruct her; and at his going away, leaves behind him a Sort of Scales like thoſe of Fiſhes. Mr. *Adams* ſays, 'tis certain a freſh Virgin is taken in every Month; but what becomes of them, and how they are diſpoſed of, he is utterly ignorant. As to the other Circumſtances of the Story, there's no Opportunity for any Body but the Prieſts and the Virgins themſelves, to be ſure of the Truth or Falſhood of them, ſo that the Credit of them depends wholly upon their Report; but the Bonzees or Prieſts, are too artful to expoſe themſelves. At length we came to *Eddo*, a City much larger than that of *Suranga*, nobler in its Buildings, and every Way more glorious in its Appearance; the very Tiles of the Houſes are gilded, and the Poſts of the Houſes ſet off with a ſhining Varniſh: They have no Glaſs Windows, but all of Board, which open in Leaves, and are very delicately painted.

A Cauſey runs thro' the chief Street of the City, which Street is as broad as any in *England*, and a fine River paſſes along by, or rather underneath the Cauſey; at every fifty Paces there is a Well-head, ſubſtantially fitted up of Free-ſtone, and ſerv'd with Buckets for People to fetch Water with, in Caſe of any Danger by Fire.

The Caſtle of the City is a much ſtronger and nobler Edifice than that at *Suranga*; and the young King lives in much greater State than the Emperor his Father.

He received us in a very courteous and obliging Manner, taking the King's Letters with Abundance of Satisfaction, and giving us all the Welcome imaginable. He gave us Letters for our King, and a

Preſent of two entire Suits of *Japan* Armour; and a long Sword and Waggedaſh for myſelf.

'Tis to be noted, that the Cattans are a common Wear; but the Tarches, or long Swords, are worn only by great Soldiers, and Perſons of the beſt Account.

'Tis ſaid to be no leſs than twenty-two Days Journey by Horſe, from the City of *Eddo* to the Northermoſt Part of *Japan*; which makes it a Country of a vaſt Extent. Our Buſineſs here being no more than the paying of a Compliment; that being done, we had no Occaſion to ſtay any longer: And ſo having got this Prince's Letters and Preſents for the King of *England*, we went back for *Suranga*.

We had not been here long before the Emperor's Letters were ready for us; as alſo the Grant, or Inſtrument of Privilege, relating to our Trade and Settlement in *Japan*; the Tranſlation of the Letter is her ſubjoined.

To the King of Great Britain.

Your Majeſty's kind Letter, ſent me by your Servant Captain John Saris, *(who is the firſt I have known to arrive in any Part of my Dominions) I heartily embrace, not being a little glad to underſtand of your great Wiſdom and Power, as having three plentiful Kingdoms under your powerful Command. I acknowledge your Majeſty's great Bounty in ſo undeſerved a Preſent of many rare Things, ſuch as my Land affordeth not, neither have I ever before ſeen: Which I receive not as from a Stranger, but from your Majeſty, whom I eſteem as myſelf. Deſiring the Continuance of Friendſhip with your Highneſs; and that it may ſtand with your good Liking to ſend your Subjects to any Part of my Dominions, where they ſhall*

ſhall be moſt heartily welcome; apprehending much their Worthineſs in the admirable Knowledge of Navigation, having with much Facility diſcovered a Country ſo remote, being no-whit amazed at the Diſtance of ſo mighty a Gulph, nor Greatneſs of ſuch infinite Clouds and Storms, from proſecuting honourable Enterpriſes, Diſcoveries, and Merchandizing; wherein they ſhall find me ready to further them, according to their Deſires. I return unto your Majeſty a ſmall Token of my Love (by your ſaid Subject) deſiring you to accept of it, as from him who much rejoiceth in your Friendſhip. And whereas your Majeſty's Subjects have deſired certain Privileges for Trade, and ſettling of a Factory in my Dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the ſame unto them under my Broad Seal, for the better eſtabliſhing thereof. From my Caſtle in Suranga, *the fourth Day of the ninth Month, in the eighteenth Year of our* Dary [*Reign*] *according to our Computation. Reſting your Majeſty's Friend, The higheſt Commander in this Kingdom of* Japan.

Subſcribed Minna Mouttono, Yei, Ye, Yeas.

The *Japaneſe* Language ſeems to agree with the *Chineſe* in this, that they expreſs their Words compendiouſly, by their ſeveral proper Characters, not compounding them of diſtinct Letters and Syllables, as in other Languages; the Character is very different from that of the *Chineſe*, and they begin reading at the Right-hand, and ſo downwards perpendicularly in the ſeveral Lines. They are exceeding careful to ſpeak and write in the ſhorteſt and conciſeſt Manner that can be; they are not given to flouriſh and enlarge upon a Subject, but deliver their Minds in very pertinent, exact, and comprehenſive Terms, contracting a great deal of Senſe into a little Compaſs. The

Letters and the Inſtrument were written very fairly in this Manner, and the firſt Curioſities of that Kind, I believe, our Nation ever had.

Having finiſhed our Buſineſs at *Suranga*, we took Leave of the Emperor and his Court, and ſet out for *Firando*. Our Way lay by Land as far as *Oſaca*, in paſſing to which we took *Meaco* in our Way, the greateſt City in *Japan*, a Place of vaſt Traffic. All the Tradeſmen dwell in a Part of the City by themſelves: Thus all of the ſame Trade (who are the fitteſt to converſe together) are Neighbours to one another.

The moſt magnificent Temple of the whole Country is at *Meaco*, built of Free-ſtone, and as long as *St. Paul*'s at *London*, from the Choir, arch'd, and adorned with mighty Pillars, and as lofty as that. It has one particular Altar at which they make their Offering of Rice, and ſmall Money, (called Cundrids, twenty of which make a Shilling) for the Maintenance of the Bonzees belonging to it; and by this Altar ſtands the great Idol *Manxada*, made of Copper, and of the ſame Form with *Dabis* before-mentioned, but much higher, reaching up to the very Arch.

The *Portugueze* Jeſuits have a ſtately College in this City, well furniſhed with Men of that Society, who read Philoſophy, and the Popiſh Divinity to the *Japaneſe* Youth, and make many of them Preachers, and among other Arts teach ſome of them thoſe that are peculiar to their own Order.

They have the *New Teſtament* tranſlated into the *Japaneſe* Tongue; and beſides this hopeful Fry breeding up in the College, there are 5 or 6000 that profeſs Chriſtianity in *Meaco*. While we ſtaid there, we received the Preſents for our King, which were ſent after us, *viz.* ten Beobs, or large Pictures, to hang a Room of State with.

From hence we travelled to *Oſaca*, where the Galley that ſet us down attended our Return, to tranſport us to *Firando*, and this at the Charge of the brave and generous old *Foyne*, the King of that Iſland. This Prince was glad at our Return, and of the Succeſs of our Affairs at Court, and had carried it with the ſame ſteady Hand of Kindneſs to our Company left there, that he did to all of us when together. But yet the Trade amounted to little or nothing in our Abſence; the *Japaneſe* had been no good Cuſtomers, tho' we had come ſo far to take their Money. One Reaſon of this was, becauſe it was not yet certain that we were to be allowed to trade in the Country, and till Trade has the public Warrant from the Emperor, as no Stranger may offer to ſell, ſo no Native dare to buy. But another Thing, which was of no ſmall Prejudice to us, was, that moſt Part of our Commodities intended for theſe Parts, were Broad Cloths, (which not long before had been ſold for 40 Rials *per* Matt, which is two Yards) a Sort of Wares the *Japaneſe* were almoſt out of Credit with, becauſe we did not recommend the Goodneſs of it by our own Wearing. You, ſaid they, cry up your Broad Cloths to us, and at the ſame Time hardly wear a Rag of it yourſelves, but are all for Silks and Stuffs, and any Thing, except juſt what you would have us buy of you; and indeed the *Japaneſe* are much in the right, and their Objection not eaſily anſwered.

This *Firando* is a good Place for our Ships to victual at, but is not ſo proper for Trade, becauſe it lies off from the main Iſland of *Japan*, where are not only the moſt, but the moſt conſiderable People, capable of giving an Encouragement to Trade, which in theſe little Bye-Iſlands is not to be expected. We might, I doubt not, be welcome to any of them, two of their Kings having given us a formal Invitation. But there is few of them could find Buſineſs to defray the Charge of a Settlement. Therefore our Ships that trade hither, ſhould not ſail to *Firando*, but to *Oriuggaw*, about fifteen Leagues from *Eddo*, where is good Riding, and a much greater Proſpect of Advantage; and tho' Proviſions are not there ſo plentiful, yet that Want may be ſupplied from the circumjacent Country.

Chriſtianity makes no conſiderable Figure comparatively, any where in this Empire, but at *Meaco*, and *Langaſacque*, a Town ſituated upon the Sea-Coaſt. It is true it had once got Footing in *Eddo*; but the Emperor, upon ſome Diſguſt, baniſhed all the Chriſtians from thence, and confined them to *Langaſaque*; and to prevent it from getting into the Court, he made it Death to any that ſhould offer to build a Church, or ſing Maſs within ten Leagues of the Place where he reſided. This Change happened juſt before our going to *Eddo*; notwithſtanding which, the Religion is otherwiſe indulged; the Chriſtian *Japaneſe*, had the ſame Protection and Privilege with the others, and the Jeſuits ſeemed to enjoy an unreſtrained Liberty in making Proſelites.

The Foundation of a Factory being thus laid, we appointed ſome of our Company to reſide here, with Inſtructions to make what Diſcoveries they could upon the Coaſt of *Corea*, *Tuſimay*, and other Parts adjoining, againſt the next Return of the Ships.

By exact Calculation made during our Stay here, we determined the Latitude of *Firando* to be 33 Deg. 14 Min. North, and the Variation of the Compaſs 2 Deg. 50 Minutes Eaſterly. When we took our Leave of old King *Foyne*, he gave me a Letter for our King, written in the *Chineſe* Language,

guage, out of which it was by two *Chineſe* Merchants tranſlated into the *Malayan*, and from thence into *Engliſh*, as follows:

To the King of Great Britain.

Moſt mighty King, how acceptable your Majeſty's loving Letter, and bountiful Preſent, of many worthy Things ſent me by your Servant Captain John Saris, *is unto me, I cannot ſufficiently expreſs, neither the great Happineſs I eſteem myſelf to be in by enjoying your Highneſs's Friendſhip; for which I render you many Thanks, deſiring the Continuance of your Majeſty's Love and Acquaintance. I am heartily glad of your Subjects Arrival at my ſmall Iſland, from ſo long a Journey. My Help and Furtherance they ſhall not want to the uttermoſt, for the effecting of their ſo worthy and laudable Enterprizes of Diſcovery and Merchandizing, greatly commending their Forwardneſs therein; referring their hitherto Entertainment to the Report of your Servant, by whom I return unto your Majeſty an unworthy Token, wiſhing your Majeſty long Life. From my Palace of* Firando, *the 6th Day of our 10th Month.*

Your Majeſty's loving Friend,

Commander of this Iſland, *Firando*, in *Japan*,

FOYNE SAM. MASAM.

Setting Sail from hence, we kept along the Coaſt of *China*, in our Courſe to *Bantam*, and in ſo doing, came to feel the Current, that ſhoots out between *Corea* and the Main of *China*, and makes a very great Sea.

The Beginning of *January*, we came to an Anchor in *Bantam* Road, where we found the beſt Part of our Men, left in the Factory at our going to *Japan*, dead, and the Survivors had as good have been dead too, for the Service and Buſineſs they did in our Abſence. There was nothing of a Lading got in Readineſs, no Pepper laid in, and the Commodities riſing every Day, and nothing more certain than that, we that were homeward bound, and muſt of Neceſſity procure a Lading, ſhould be made to pay for what we had to the very utmoſt.

Beſides, we found a Diſadvantage in having ſo many diſtinct Factories as we had in this Place; for one Party endeavouring to out-bid another, on Account of their own particular Voyage, the Prices were rais'd, and the public Intereſt a Sufferer by it. To redreſs this Evil, we reduc'd our ſeveral Factories at *Bantam*, under one Government, and fixed them in one Houſe together, and leſſen'd the Number of Warehouſes, taking Care to regulate the placing and diſpoſing our Goods with more Diſcretion for the future. I bought here of the *Chineſe* Merchants, 4000 Sacks of Pepper, at 13 Rials of Eight *per* 10 Sacks, the Baſſe three in the Hundred.

Before we departed, the whole City of *Bantam* was almoſt laid in Aſhes. How the Fire began is uncertain, but when once kindled, the Wind carried on the Flame with ſuch Rapidity, that the whole Town was almoſt preſently conſumed, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Houſes only excepted, and ſome very few more, which few were likewiſe burnt in a Day or two after, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* ſtill excepted.

Leaving the Town in this ruinous Condition, we ſet Sail homewards, and came to an Anchor in

Soldan's Bay, by the Middle of *May*, where we found the *Concord* of *London*, the firſt Ship that ever was ſet out by the Joint-ſtock. The Natives here were grown ſo exceſſively rude and treacherous, that both the *Concord* and we felt the Effects of it, and we, in particular, had like to have loſt all our Men that kept the Skiff, by a ſudden and furious Aſſault, while the reſt were aſhore, and had periſh'd every Man, had they not immediately hurried themſelves into the Water.

We finiſhed this long and tedious Voyage the latter End of *September*, 1614, when we came ſafe into *Plymouth* Road: Here the Winds and the Weather were more ſevere upon us, than in all thoſe vaſt and mighty Seas we had paſſed; we were actually in more Danger than we had ſeen in ſailing half the Globe, and feared we had come from *Japan* and *China*, to be wrecked at our own Doors. This tempeſtuous Weather held for five or ſix Weeks, and then went off.

Cuſtoms of the Japaneſe; *and remarkable Occurrences at* Firando: *Written by Mr.* RICHARD COCKS, *Cape-Merchant.*

IT is a common Practice in all Countries, for Friends to meet and make merry together, and for kind and good-natur'd Neighbours to make much of one another, and ſtrengthen their Friendſhip by mutual Entertainments. Now, in this Point, the *Japaneſe* go beyond all the reſt of Mankind; for they invite not only the Living, but the Dead to their Feſtivities: Their Manner in this;

When the Seaſon for this Solemnity is come, very great Preparations are made all over the Place; the Streets are ſwept clean, and Gravel is laid in a decent Manner at every Man's Door; at Night there are Illuminations, and Candles hung out. All Things thus ſet in Order, in the Dead of the Night they march with Abundance of Lights to the Graves and Tombs, carrying all their Proviſions, both for Eating and Drinking, along with them; and here they ſet to it, making exceeding merry, enjoying all the Pleaſures of good Fellowſhip for ſeveral Nights ſucceſſively. At breaking up of the Feaſt, they go up and down the Town in Companies, with Flags and Banners, beating upon great Pans, and dancing very briſkly to that fine Muſic, before every great Man's Door, and at all the Temples and Sepulchres; which concludes the whole Solemnity.

They are ſo very ſtrict in obſerving of the Feaſt, that 'tis made Capital for any Man to neglect his Duty here: 'Tis Death not to ſweep a Door, and hang out a Candle; which was the Fate of a poor *Japaneſe*, while Mr. *Cocks* was at *Firando*.

Another Sort of Night Diverſion among the *Japaneſe* is, Maſquerading; in which the King and his Nobles act the moſt conſiderable Part. All the Streets are enlighten'd with Candles, and the Muſic plays the Company along with all the Jollity imaginable; they march ſometimes to one great Houſe, ſometimes to another, juſt as the Frolick takes them, and ſpend the beſt Part of the Night in Dancing and other Gambols.

There is no leſs Feaſting and Doings of all Sorts, at the Time of their public Shooting-matches. Then the King and all his Nobles appear on Horſeback, and are followed by the whole Poſſe of Slaves, Pikes, Bow-men, and Small-ſhot. The

Exerciſe is chiefly managed by the Archers, who ride full Speed, and diſcharge their Arrows in the Career at a Buckler, hung up againſt a Wall. 'Tis perform'd in the Street before their great Pagod, or Temple; and the Deſign of it, to encourage that Sort of Dexterity, and make them ſkilful Markſmen in the Field, when they are at War.

Another of their Recreations is, that of the Stage, of which the *Japaneſe* are not ignorant, and have Air, Life, Carriage, and Wit enough, to make a good Appearance in a Drama. The worſt Part of the Entertainment, is what they call their Muſic; but ſo flat, harſh, and confus'd, as is more likely, one would think, to diſcompoſe an Audience, and ruffle their Temper, than to excite any pleaſing Paſſions in them.

The Inſtrument of this Muſic, was a Sort of Tabor made in the Form of an Hour-glaſs, big at both Ends, and ſmall in the Middle; they beat upon one End with one Hand, and ſtrain the Strings with the other, proportioning the Sound as they pleaſe to the Voice that accompanies it. Beſides which, they have a Sort of Fife, or Flute; but are all dull and unmuſical. Some of their Women ſing and play ſweetly enough upon the Cittern of their Country; but the Muſic of the Stage, where it ought to be fineſt, is the moſt ordinary and coarſe.

In all their extraordinary Plays, the Actors are no leſs Perſons than the Kings themſelves, and the Top of the Nobility; ſuch who by Height of Birth and Blood, and an Elevation of Mind and Temper, are very well qualified to act a real and natural Part, and to give the utmoſt Degree of Life and Strength to thoſe Repreſentations of heroic Virtue, that are contain'd in the Play.

The Subject of theſe Dramas, is always ſome important Affair of their own Country; they don't concern themſelves with any foreign Stories, but draw the Scene in ſome Place of *Japan*. They run over the whole Hiſtory of their Country, the various Fortunes of it, the Wars and Actions of their renowned Anceſtors, by which Means they keep up a lively Remembrance of them among the People, and incite them to a generous Emulation of thoſe Virtues they ſee repreſented. Nay, they deſcend from Antiquity to the preſent Times, and bring the Life and the Fiction ſometimes together; making thoſe Circumſtances the Subject of the Drama, that were real in themſelves, and thoſe Perſons Actors, that bore a Part in the Life.

All theſe great Plays, in which the Courtiers are concern'd, conclude with a noble Entertainment; and whatever be the Prologue, a good Feaſt to be ſure makes the Epilogue. The Nobles ſend in their ſeveral Parts of the Proviſion, and do every Thing to make it as pompous as poſſible: And then all the People that come to ſee, are royally feaſted, ſmall and great, without Exception. None are excluded, either from the Play or Entertainment, but as many as the Place will contain are admitted.

Tho' the *Japaneſe* can be very civil and friendly to Chriſtians, and the Religion is profeſſed by ſome of them, yet the Country, in general, ſeems poſſeſſed with ſome ſtrange ſuperſtitious Prejudices againſt them. Thus, if a Chiſtian dies there, as they have a Burying-place to themſelves, the Corps muſt not be brought in Sight of any of their Pagods; if the Place of Interment be but at the End of a Street, or hard by, if one of their Temples ſtands in the Way, the Funeral muſt go two or three Miles about, unleſs there be any ſhorter Cut, by which it is poſſible to avoid the Sight of the Temple.

Thus, ſays Mr. *Cocks*, they ſerved us, when one of our Company was to be buried; we were forced to carry the Corps by Water a long Way round, becauſe the foppiſh Prieſts would not ſuffer us to bring it thro' the Street, ſanctified by the Preſence of one of their Idol-Temples; neither would they ſuffer the dead Body to touch any of their Boats, and if we had none of our own, we muſt bury our Companions upon the Spot where they died, or fling them into the Sea. Neither will any of them be hired to dig a Grave; ſo that we were forced to be Sextons to one another.

The Bonzees of this Country, are mighty Pretenders to the Knowledge of future and ſecret Things, which they ſay are reveal'd to them by their Oracle. Thus they pretend to reſolve all knotty, dark, and myſterious Queſtions, to determine the Circumſtances of contingent Events; in ſhort, to give an Account of all thoſe Things which cannot be accounted for, but by ſuppoſing them to have ſome ſuper-natural Intelligence. But the Miſchief of it is, they often ſhoot beſides the Mark, and their Predictions and the Events very ſeldom agree; and therefore, either the Devil tells them Lies, or they tell Lies of the Devil.

They frequently put the Town into a diſmal Fright about Fires, which they ſay poſitively ſhall happen ſuch a Day, and then all the People are in a Hurry, providing Tubs and Buckets, and filling Water againſt the fatal Time comes, and at laſt have their Labour for their Pains. 'Tis true, the Town is often fired, but very ſeldom when the Bonzees foretel it. And when their Predictions happen right, 'tis ſhrewdly ſuppoſed that they themſelves are the Incendiaries, either in Hopes of getting Plunder when the People are in Confuſion, or of eſtabliſhing the Reputation of their Predictions, by making the Event anſwerable.

In order to prevent theſe Diſturbances for the future, we (whoſe Share of Dread and Dangers by the Fires, was not the leaſt) made a Motion to the King, That an Edict might be publiſhed, enjoining a ſtrict and particular Watch to be every where kept; that no Man ſhould be ſuffered to be out late, without giving a good Account of himſelf, and his Buſineſs; and always to have a Light before him, that it might be ſeen who he is. Theſe Orders were accordingly put in Execution, and the Merchants and Inhabitants thereby freed from their conſtant Terrors and Diſturbances.

In *September*, when Captain *Saris* was gone to the Emperor's Court, we were ſurprized at *Firando* with a horrible Tempeſt, ſuch, perhaps, as no Man ever ſaw. The airy Regions were all in a Hurly-burly, as if they were commencing a War that ſhould end in univerſal Confuſion. The Noiſe of the raging Wind was accompanied with a Diſcharge of Thunder and Lightning ſufficient to have ſhook the ſteadieſt Courage in the World; the Rains fell at the ſame Time, which, tho' perhaps, an Advantage in Reſpect of the Lightning, yet added exceedingly to the Horror of the Storm. The Winds beat ſo fiercely upon the Town, that above an hundred Houſes were preſently overthrown; a great Part of the reſt untiled and laid open, and all trembled as if the Earth itſelf had ſuffered a Convulſion. The Sea, unable to keep its Bounds, broke into the Town, undermin'd the great Wharf, beat down the Stone-wall, and ſunk and ſhatter'd in Pieces above fifty Barks that lay in the Road. But our Ship eſcaped, in this common Calamity, with only the Loſs of one of her Anchors.

This Storm did more Miſchief at *Langaſaque*, than at *Firando*: All the while it continued, the ſuperſtitious People ran up and down the Streets with Fire-brands, to pacify the angry Deity: But which, in all Probability, had ſet the Town on Fire if the Rains had not prevented it.

The Voyage of Captain THOMAS BEST; *being the Tenth ſet forth by the* Eaſt-India *Company: Extracted from the Journals of the Captain, Maſters, &c.*

[*Note, we omit ſuch Voyages as have nothing curious or intereſting to recommend them; as likewiſe the immaterial Parts of thoſe we inſert.*]

THE Ships employed in this Voyage, were the *Dragon* and *Hoſiander*, which took their Departure from *England* in *February*, 1611. The firſt Part of this Voyage affords nothing material, till they arrived on the Coaſt of *India*, and came to an Anchor at the Bar of *Surat*. The People expreſſed a great Satisfaction at their Arrival, and there was a promiſing Appearance of a good Trade and kind Uſage among them; and the Governor of *Surat* ſent his Certificate on Board for their Aſſurance in that Point. However, to go upon the ſureſt Grounds, they concluded to ſend a Diſpatch to *Agra*, to know directly from the *Great Mogul* himſelf, whether we ſhould be permitted to have a free Trade, and to ſettle a Factory in his Country; if not, that we would immediately depart. The Reſult of this was, that in a very little Time the Governor of *Amadavar* came to them with full Power to treat upon that Subject, and to enter into ſolemn Articles with them, which were to be ratified with the Seal of the *Great Mogul*, in forty Days after, or elſe to be null and void. By this Agreement they had the Privilege of ſettling Factories, and trading in any City within the Compaſs of the *Mogul*'s Dominions.

The Buſineſs being brought to this Iſſue, the Preſents for the *Mogul* were laid out in a Readineſs to be deliver'd, as ſoon as the Writings had paſt his Seal.

At this Time, ſays the Journaliſt, there paſſed within Sight of us, a *Portugueze* Fleet of 240 Sail, all Merchants, and bound for *Cambaya*; to which Place every Fleet arrives; from whence they bring the greateſt Part of the Lading, which the Carracks and Galleons carry away for *Portugal*; from whence it is plain, their Concerns in this Part of the World are not inconſiderable.

But now we were alarmed with the News of another Fleet of them, that was coming to give us a Welcome into the *Eaſt-Indies*; for tho' the *Great Mogul* had granted us Liberty of Trade, yet the *Portugueze* reſolved it ſhould not be ſo; and therefore came with four great Galleons, and 26 Frigates from *Goa*, to drive us out of thoſe Seas. The Action between us was not finiſhed in one Day, or at a ſingle Trial, but made three or four diſtinct Fights one Day after another. In the firſt Bruſh were concerned no more than the Admiral Ships of both Sides. Our *Dragon* going on to meet their Admiral and Vice-Admiral, would not be provoked to ſhoot till ſhe got between them both, when ſhe ſaluted each of them with a Broad-ſide, and a Volley of ſmall Shot, ſo heartily, that they immediately took their Leaves of her, and the Fight for that Day.

The next Day, after ſome Hours Fight, the *Dragon* having played with her Great and Small Shot, very hot upon three of the Galleons, forced them aground upon the Sands athwart the Bar of *Surat*; and there the *Hoſiander* perfectly danced the Hay about them, whilſt they kept all out of Sight, and did not dare to ſhew a Man upon Deck.

The ſame Day, after the Galleons were recovered by the Help of their Frigates, the Fight was renewed again betwixt us, but no conſiderable Damage done on either Side.

But the fourth and laſt Trial (which was after ten Days Refreſhment) ended the Diſpute, and gave the *Portugueze*, and the whole Country beſides, a ſufficient Proof, that it was not ſo very eaſy (as they had made it by their Noiſe and Bragging) to force two *Engliſh* Ships to a diſgraceful Flight.

The Fight was well managed, and ſtubbornly maintained on their Part, as well as ours; but (Providence favouring our Cauſe) the happy Concluſion of it was, that the *Portugueze*, not able to hold out any longer, cut their Cables, and fled from us, with all the Speed and Confuſion imaginable. There was at this Time a whole Army on the Shore, Spectators of the Action, and joyful Witneſſes of our Victory. The *Indian* General, Commander of that Army, gave an Account of this Action to the *Mogul* himſelf, who was not a little amazed at it, conſidering the Reputation the *Portugueze* had all over that Country, to be invincible at Sea.

The *Portugueze* owned they loſt 160 Men in this Fight, but the Country reports 500. We had not in all above ſix Men killed and wounded. Our greateſt Loſs was in Powder and Shot, there being ſpent 60 Barrels of Powder, 680 Great Shot, and 3000 Small Shot; tho' we hope to ſome good Purpoſe, as well for the Reputation of our Country, as chaſtiſing the Inſolence of ſo proud and daring an Adverſary.

Having waited at *Surat* ſome Time, the *Mogul*'s Ratification of the Articles came, which was delivered to us by the Governor, in a very ſolemn Manner, and accompanied with many Expreſſions of that Prince's Good-will to our King and Country.

This Affair being thus happily concluded, we proceeded in our Voyage to *Sumatra*. As we coaſted along the Iſle of *Ceylon*, we ſent ſome of our Company aſhore, but the People would have nothing to do with us, nor ſuffer us to have any Manner of Proviſions, alledging that our Nation had wrong'd them, and formerly taken one of their Boats. We were beholden to the *Dutch* for this kind Uſage, for they had took the Boat, and very probably told the Natives they were *Engliſhmen*, as we know they have often done.

From hence we ſailed directly for *Achen*, where the greateſt of our Concerns lay. The Cuſtom here is for every Ship to preſent the King immediately on the Landing of his Men; in Requital of which an Entertainment of Meats is always ſent back by the King. The ſame Ceremonies paſt ou both Sides on our Arrival; and then we were ſent for to Court. The Letters and Preſents of foreign Princes (eſpecially ſuch as he pays the higheſt Reſpect to) are brought to the King of *Achen* with great Pomp; they are carried in golden Baſons, upon an Elephant richly caparriſon'd, as his Majeſty's of *England* now was, and as it had been done before.

The Contents of the Letter were highly pleaſing to this Prince, and he readily promiſed to do all Things to procure the Satisfaction of our King and Country; and particularly to ratify all the Articles of the Treaty agreed on formerly between his Predeceſſor and Sir *James Lancaſter*, ſent to that Court by Queen *Elizabeth*. He is one of the beſt accompliſh'd Princes that Country perhaps ever had; the King and the Gentleman are equally diſcovered in his Behaviour; and while he diſplays all the Greatneſs and Majeſty of the one, he no leſs charms you with the Civility and Good-breeding of the other. And he is no leſs a Soldier in his Martial Aſpect, and brave Spirit, than he is either of the former; and it appears by his Victories and Succeſſes, that the Qualifications of a good General as much belong to him as thoſe of a fine Prince.

He was mighty free to ſhew us all the Sports and Diverſions of his Court, and would hardly take any public Pleaſure, but what our General muſt ſhare with him. We were often invited to ſee his Elephants fight, ſometimes his Rams, and ſometimes his Buffaloes; which encountered one another with ſuch Fierceneſs, that it was as much as ſixty or eighty Men could do to part them, which they did with Ropes faſtened to their Hind-legs, and ſo pulled them aſunder.

Another of his favourite Diverſions is Swimming, for which he has a fine Pond, at five or ſix Miles Diſtance from Court; into which none but himſelf and ſome Lords, or particular Favourites, are permitted to go. Hither he took our General, and after ſome Time ſpent in the Sports and Exerciſes of the Water, he ordered a noble Banquet, which was brought into the Pond, ſerved up, and eaten there upon the Spot; neither would the King let any of the Company ſtir out of the Water till all was clear'd, tho' there was a Matter of 500 Diſhes, and a proportionable Quantity of Arrack, and other ſtrong Liquors. He always called the General by the Name of *Orancaia Pulo* (that is, the *White Lord)* and granted him free Acceſs to his Perſon at all Times, without the Ceremony of waiting for his Criſe; which is generally ſent by ſome great Officer, to introduce thoſe that come before the King.

He earneſtly deſired the General, to recommend him to the King of *England*, and tell him, he would be very glad to have a Couple of fair Women out of his Country; for then, ſays he, if I get a Son by one of them, I'll make him King of *Priaman*, and all that Country from whence you fetch your Pepper; and ſo you ſhall not need to come to me, but go to your own *Engliſh* King for thoſe Commodities.

The Letter he ſent to our King was very finely ſet off with Painting, and curiouſly written in the Character of that Country; the Stile of it lofty and ſwelling, ſtuffed with high Titles, and ſplendid Characters of his own Riches and Greatneſs; according to the Manner of theſe Eaſtern Princes, who generally fill up almoſt half their Letters and public Writings, with pompous Enumerations of this Kind. A Copy of it is here added, as well to give a Specimen of the Oſtentation and Vanity peculiar to thoſe Parts of the World, as to manifeſt the Acceptance and Welcome of our Nation at that Time in this Country, and the Proſpect of a happy Commerce between both.

To

To the King of Great Britain.

Peducka Sirie Sultan, *King of Kings, renowned for his Wars, and ſole King of* Sumatra, *and a King more famous than his Predeceſſors, feared in his Kingdom, and honour'd of all the bordering Nations; in whom there is the true Image of a King, in whom reigns the true Method of Government, formed as it were of the moſt pure Metal, and adorned with the fineſt Colours; whoſe Seat is high, and moſt complete, like to a Chryſtal River, pure and clear as the Chryſtal Glaſs; from whom flows the clear Streams of Bounty and Juſtice; whoſe Preſence is as the fineſt Gold, King of* Priaman, *and of the Mountain of Gold,* viz. Solida, *and Lord of nine Sorts of Stones, King of two* Sombrieroes *of beaten Gold, having for his Seats Mats of Gold; his Furniture for his Horſes, and Armour for himſelf, being likewiſe of pure Gold. His Elephant with Teeth of Gold, and all Proviſions thereunto belonging: His Launces half Gold, half Silver; a Saddle alſo for an Elephant of the ſame Metal: A Tent of Silver, and all his Seals half Gold and half Silver. His Veſſels for Bathing of pure Gold, his Sepulchre of Gold (whereas his Predeceſſors had all theſe half Gold half Silver) his Services complete of Gold and Silver. A King, under whom there are many Kings, having taken the King of* Arrow: *All the Country of* Priaman, Tecoo, Barouſe, *being ſubdued by him, is now under his Command: Seventy Elephants, and much Proviſion carried to Sea, to make his Wars at* Arrow, *where God gave me more Succeſs than any of my Predeceſſors.*

This Great King ſendeth this Letter of Salutation to James *King of* Great Britain, *viz.* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *to ſignify the great Content he hath received by his Highneſs's Letters, deli-*

vered by the Hands of Orancaia Pulo, Thomas Beſt, *his Majeſty's Ambaſſador, at the Receipt whereof his Eyes were ſurprized with a celeſtial Brightneſs, and his Spirits raviſhed with a divine Joy: The Opening thereof render'd a Savour more fragrant than the moſt odoriferous Flowers, or ſweeteſt Perfumes in the World. For which Cauſe, I, the Great King of* Sumatra, *do profeſs myſelf to be of one Heart, of one Mind, and of one Fleſh, with the moſt potent Prince* James, *King of* England; *and do earneſtly deſire, that the League begun, may be continued to all Poſterities. And herein I take my greateſt Felicity, there being nothing in the World more pleaſant or joyful to me. And for a Teſtimony of my Deſire, that the League and Amity begun may be continued betwixt us, I have returned this Letter unto your Majeſty, making alſo my Prayers unto the Great GOD, for the Continuance of the ſame. And it ſhall be my greateſt Honour to receive a Memorial from ſo great a Potentate, and ſo remote a Nation. And for a Pledge of my Love and Honour, and Continuance of our Leagues, I ſend your Majeſty a Criſe wrought with Gold, the Hilt thereof being beaten Gold, with a Ring of Stones, an Aſſagaya of Swaſs, half Copper half Gold, eight Purſlan Diſhes ſmall and great, of Camphire, one Piece of Scowring-ſtuff, three Pieces of Calico Lawn: Which your Majeſty accepting as from a Brother, I ſhall reſt ſatisfied and much honour'd. And ſo with my Prayers to the Great GOD, Creator of Heaven and Earth, for your Majeſty's long Life, with Victory over your Enemies, and Proſperity in your Land.*

Given at our Palace at *Achen*, the 1022 Year of *Mahomet*, by the Account of the *Moors*.

Having laid this happy Foundation for Trade, in the Procurement of the King's Grant, we went from *Achen* towards the other trading Places of this Iſland, in order to proceed thereupon. We had free Liberty to go to *Tecoo*, *Priaman*, *Paſſaman*, or any where; and the King of *Achen*'s Letter procured us good Entertainment at every Place.

Our firſt Courſe was to *Tecoo*, from whence the *Hoſiander* was diſpatched to *Priaman*, and another Company to *Paſſaman*, on the ſame Deſign: But this laſt Place proved ſo very unhealthful, that we were quickly forced to come away, and quit our Pretenſions to a Factory there. The Air has ſo much Malignity in it, and the Water ſo bad, that it is better to have no Concerns with it, than to hazard the Lives of ſo many Perſons, who might do good Service in a more benign Climate.

The *Dragon* traded at *Tecoo* for 120 Tons of Pepper; from whence ſhe went to *Bantam*, while the *Hoſiander* ſtaid there to make Sale of the *Surat* Commodities.

At *Bantam*, the ſame Ship traded for 17,000 Bags of Pepper, at 13 Dollars *per* Bahar; and having finiſhed her Concerns, ſailed directly for *England*, coming into the *Thames* the ſame Day ſix Months, that ſhe ſet Sail out of *Bantam* Road.

The Voyage of Captain CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT; *being the Twelfth ſet forth by the* Eaſt-India *Company: Written by Mr.* Walter Payton.

THIS Voyage was performed by one Ship only, the *Expedition*, which ſailed from *Graveſend* the Beginning of *January*, 1612, having on Board Sir *Robert Shirley*, Ambaſſador for the *Perſian* Court, and Sir *Thomas Powel* who was going into *Perſia*, with their ſeveral Retinues; who were to be landed on the Coaſt of that Country, and then the Ship was to purſue her Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

We ſhall not keep them Company for the firſt Part of the Voyage, but make a ſhort Cut, and meet them on the Coaſt of *Arabia Felix*, where, at *Reſoit*, a little Town not far from *Doffar*, they diſcovered a good Road to anchor in. The *Arabs* of theſe Places, ſays Mr. *Payton*, were exceeding kind to us, and gave us all the Entertainment, and uſeful Inſtructions, relating to the Country, we could deſire. The Governor of *Doffar* came, and brought us a Variety of Proviſions, expreſſing much Joy that he had ſuch an Opportunity to teſtify his Reſpects to us, and gave us full Liberty to go aſhore any where in the Country, within the Bounds of his Juriſdiction.

From hence we went coaſting along the *Arabian* Shore towards *Perſia*, hoping to find ſome convenient Place to land the Ambaſſador. Being got into the Gulph, we had quickly a Sight of the Coaſt of *Perſia*.

Coming near the Shore, a Company was ſent out to make Diſcoveries in that Country; by whom we were informed, that the Country before us was called *Getche Macquerona*, and the People *Baluches*, under the Government of a King that was tributary to the *Perſian*, and had his chief Reſidence at the Port of *Guador*; who, the Natives told them, would ſee the Lord Ambaſſador ſafely conducted to the *Perſian* Court, and adviſed us to ſail on to *Guador*, a very convenient Place for landing our *Perſian* Company. Accordingly we reſolved to proceed to *Guador*; tho' we could procure no Pilot amongſt them, and were not ourſelves well acquainted with that Coaſt.

Sailing thitherwards, we got Sight of two great *Teradas*, or *Baluche* Boats, which were ſailing along the Shore towards *Ormus*; to theſe we ſent out our Skiff, with no other Deſign than to get a Pilot out of one of them, by fair Means, if poſſible, if not, by Force.

The *Baluches* would not let the Skiff come near them, nor return a civil Anſwer to the common Salutations at Sea; and when our Men fired a Piece at Random, with a Deſign to frighten them into a little more Compliance, they returned it with another Shot at the Skiff, with a whole Shower of Arrows. Upon this, the Skiff returned, and a Boat was diſpatched to manage the Point with the *Teradas*; which ſhe did ſo effectually, that one of them was driven aground; and the other would have had the ſame Fate, if the Boat had not brought her off. The Maſter of this *Terada*, we eaſily perſuaded to be our Pilot to *Guador*; we likewiſe obliged the *Terada* to bear us Company, to prevent the News of our being in thoſe Parts being ſpread about in the Gulph, and alarm the *Portugueze*.

It deſerves Remark, that the *Portugueze* hold all the Country hereabouts in ſtrange Subjection, and not a Ship at *Terada* dares ſail without their Licence; they fix in their Paſſes, what Place they ſhall go to, what Commodities they carry, how long the Paſs ſhall continue in Force, all which are regiſter'd in their Caſtle of *Muſcat*. This we diſcovered by the Peruſal of a *Portugueze* Paſs, which this *Terada* had with her. All this while our Apprehenſions of the Place and People we were going amongſt, were the ſame, as upon the former repeated Teſtimonies of the Natives; for the Pilot, and all the *Baluches* aboard us, ſpoke exactly the ſame Language, and had they all laid their Heads together in one Plot, they could not have been more uniform in their Tale than they were.

With our firſt Thoughts and Hopes, therefore, we arrived at *Guador*; and here the Governor told us (by a Meſſenger) the ſame Story as before, and with ſo much Welcome and Careſs, that we were now paſt all Doubt of being come to the right Place.

But to lay the finer Varniſh over their Deſigns, he ſent to compliment the Lord Ambaſſador in a very ſolemn Manner, promis'd him a Guard to *Hiſpahan*; order'd ſeveral Preſents and Proviſions to be brought aboard; and all this he declared, the King his Maſter was very glad to do, as well out of Reſpect to the Ambaſſador, as to expreſs his Loyal Regard to the King of *Perſia* his Sovereign.

All theſe Things wearing ſo good an Aſpect, the Ambaſſador was ſo far influenced by them, that he immediately ſent the beſt Part of his Treaſure and Effects aſhore in the *Baluche* Boats that came for that Purpoſe. The whole Cargo was beſtowed in a Tent, erected on Purpoſe for the Reception of it, and ſecur'd there by ſome of his Lordſhip's Retinue, till he came himſelf, which he intended to do the ſame Day.

It happen'd, that while the Goods were carrying into the Tent, ſome of the *Baluches* aſk'd the Ambaſſador's Servants, whether there was all or no? To which, when it was replied, there was no more but Jewels, which would come with the Ambaſſador himſelf: Some of the Villains made Anſwer to their Fellows ſtanding by, That it was no Matter, for there was enough already for Plunder for the Soldiers.

This was over-heard, and underſtood by a *Perſian* of the Retinue; and it was the firſt Step of the Plot diſcover'd: But immediately it was more amply reveal'd, in all its Particulars, to the ſame *Perſian*, by one, who, it ſeems, had more Honeſty and Good-nature, than the Barbarians he lived among. Their Deſign was to have ſacrificed the Ambaſſador, and all the Company, except the Surgeons, Muſicians, and thoſe that would have been uſeful to them; and after that, with a Fleet of *Teradas*, to have fallen upon the Ship, and having got her into their Power, to have diſpoſed of us in the ſame Manner. It was a happy Providence that our Skiff was at this Inſtant filling Water by the Shore; which our *Perſian* taking Advantage of, quickly came and prevented any farther Danger, by putting a full Stop to our Motions; and it was as luckily timed, for the Ambaſſador was juſt then ſetting out, attended with all the beſt Appearance the Ship could make. Thus our Lives were ſaved, but his Lordſhip's Goods were in the Hands of this vile People, and our next Concern was, to redeem them.

In order to this, we ſent Word to the perfidious Viceroy, that the Ambaſſador, by Reaſon of his

Illneſs, had deferred his Coming till next Day, and deſired that then two or three Boats might be ſent for his Company, together with ſome of the Principal of the *Baluches*, and this in Reſpect to his Quality as Ambaſſador to the King of *Perſia*. This Propoſal was very readily agreed to: But, beſides this, ſome of our Men, by their politic Management, got ſome of the moſt valuable Things out of the Ambaſſador's Trunk, the ſame Night, without the leaſt Diſcovery or Suſpicion, which was eaſily done, ſince his own Retinue had the Over-ſight of them till he landed himſelf. And one of his richeſt Cheſts was brought off clear by as good a Stratagem; the Servants pretending a preſent Occaſion their Lord had for ſomething in it, and in the Room of it leaving another which (for ought the *Baluches* knew, was filled with Gold and Jewels) had nothing in it but Stones, Billets, and Rubbiſh, which all paſſed well enough, and the Plotters ſmelt nothing of the Plot upon themſelves.

Next Morning the Boats came according to Appointment; and the conſiderable Men of the *Baluches* were no ſooner aboard, but they deſired to ſee the Gun-room, which fell out *a-propos*, for that was the Pound into which we had a Mind to draw them. In ſhort, having them in ſafe Cuſtody, we preſently ſeized their Weapons, and then charged them with all the Particulars of their barbarous Deſign, which they denied with all the Forehead and Obdurateneſs in the World, ſtanding ſtoutly to it, that they deſigned us no Miſchief. However, expecting another Kind of Satisfaction than that, we diſpatched ſome of the meaner Sort of them with a Meſſage to the Viceroy to this Effect; that if he did not return all that belonged to us, both of Goods and Men, within the Space of two Hours, we would cut all thoſe *Baluches* to Pieces we had aboard the Ship; and this ſharp Meſſage produced the deſired Effect; it ſcar'd him into a Surrender of his intended Prey, and forc'd him to be juſt againſt his Inclination. Thus by the Interpoſition of a kind Providence, we eſcaped the Effects of as villainous a Treachery as, perhaps, was ever contriv'd.

But this, it ſeems, was no new Thing among the *Baluches*, neither were we the firſt they had practiced upon: For, according to the honeſt Diſcoverer of this Plot, (who alſo totally left them, and came away to us) they had drawn three Ships into their Snares at this Rate, ſince he had been amongſt them, and what Miſchief they had done before of that Kind, themſelves only knew.

And then they had impos'd upon us as much in pretending a Subjection to the King of *Perſia*; ſince they were at that very Time in actual Rebellion, and openly denied that Tribute which the Generations before them had all quietly paid; and ſuch was their Spleen againſt the King of *Perſia*, that they had made it Death, but for any Body to name him amongſt them. And, indeed, there was this Demonſtration of the Fact; that the King of *Perſia* had then levied a mighty Army for reducing theſe Rebels to their former Obedience.

Our Expectations for landing the Ambaſſador here being fruſtrated, we ſailed on towards *India*, and came to an Anchor near the City *Diul*, in the Mouth of the River *Sinde*, in 24 Deg. 38 N. Lat. Here his Lordſhip landed, and was received by the Governor with all the Reſpect due to his Character, who promis'd to aſſiſt him in his Journey through *Perſia*.

Having diſcharged our Truſt in ſetting him aſhore, we were next to attend the Affair of Trade;

which, if it might be procured there, we had Commodities ready and proper for it; but if not, we would only refreſh, and depart. This we deſired the Ambaſſador to repreſent to the Governor, which he did; but the Intereſt of the *Portugueze* was too great in this Place for us to expect any Favour; for tho' the Governor would have been friendly to us, yet their Malice blaſted all his Endeavours to oblige us. The Ambaſſador zealouſly arguing the Buſineſs, was as warmly oppoſed by the *Portugueze*; high Words paſſed between them, and they did not ſpare to tell him in plain Terms, he was a Pyrate. This they ſaid on Account of our having arreſted the *Baluchian Terada*, tho' it was without any other Damage than what theſe ill People brought upon themſelves. But this was not all; they would have made out the Ambaſſador to be one of the worſt of Cheats; for when he produced the King of *Spain*'s Paſs under his own Hand and Seal, they diſowned it as a Counterfeit, and made no Scruple to charge him with downright Forgery. Theſe Abuſes were too foul to be endured with Patience by a Man who had Honour and Innocence to protect him from Slander; and therefore, as he eaſily juſtified himſelf, ſo he told ſo much of the Hiſtory and Circumſtances of the *Portugueze* Nation, as was enough to leſſen the Opinion of their Grandeur, which ſo many foreign Countries, who knew no better, had entertained.

The Governor, to carry it as ſteady as might be between both Parties, tho' he ſeverely rebuked the *Portugueze* for their inſolent Carriage towards the Ambaſſador, yet would come to no final Reſolution about the Point of our Trade, till he had conferred with ſome of our Merchants upon the Subject. Mean while the *Portugueze* laboured hard to prevent our Encouragement and Settlement at *Diul*, ſometimes promiſing, and then threatening the Governor to leave the Place, and trade there no more; and then again by abuſing and railing at the *Engliſh* in all the dirty and ſcandalous Terms they could think of. On the other Hand, the Governor, to teſtify his Reſpect for the *Engliſh* Nation, had us conducted to the Caſtle (where the Conference was to be) with the greateſt Solemnity and Splendor that could be; and whatever the *Portugueze* had ſaid to diſgrace us, the People, as we paſſed along, expreſſed, by many Signs, that they had conceived no bad Opinion of us. The Reſult of the Debate was this, that we could have no Trade at *Diul* this Voyage. He freely owned the Intrigues of the *Portugueze* againſt us, and declared he would be glad to get rid of them, if he could introduce a Trade more beneficial than theirs. But the *Portugueze* Trade was worth to the Place 10,000 *l.* a Year *Sterling*; and we had at this Time brought ſo few Commodities, that the Profits coming from us would not amount to near that Sum; and therefore, for this Year at leaſt, they muſt ſuffer conſiderably in their Revenues, if the *Portugueze* ſhould deſert the Place, as they vowed they would do. Beſides, he urged, that he really farmed the Cuſtoms of that Port of the *Mogul*, his Maſter, being bound for the annual Payment of ſo much Money into the Treaſury of *Agra*, whether his Place yielded it or no; ſo that all the Deficiencies muſt be made good out of his own Pocket, or he muſt take the Conſequences of it in his Prince's Diſpleaſure, which might be his Ruin. However, he promiſed that we ſhould be admitted to a free Trade the next Return of our Ships, upon theſe two Conditions, that we came ſo provided, that our Trade might make Amends for the Loſs of the *Portugueze*; and then, that we gave him an Aſſurance, that we would come with no Act of Hoſtility upon the Perſons, Ships, or Goods, of any belonging to the *Great Mogul.* This Treaty was confirmed by Writings interchangeably delivered on both Sides, in which the Governor and we ſolemnly bound ourſelves each to the other, to make good the Articles before ſpecified.

The Commodities required for that Place were Broad Cloths of all light Colours, Elephants Teeth, Iron, Tin, Lead, Steel, and Spices. Thoſe we ſhould deal for there, were Indigoes, Calicoes, Pintadoes, all Sorts of *Guzurat*, and *Cambaya* Goods, and ſeveral Kinds of Drugs.

This was all we could do at preſent; which being done, we ſet Sail for *Sumatra*. At *Priaman* we beat the Price of Pepper from 22 to 17 Rials *per* Bahar, the unjuſt Governor pretending to make it the Condition of our Trade, that we ſhould preſent and gratify almoſt all the Officers and Merchants round the Cuſtom-houſe. But being invited to *Tecoo*, by one of our Ships that was then there, we went thither full of Expectations of ſome mighty Doings. But we found them troubled with the ſame Diſtemper as thoſe of *Priaman*, covetous, greedy, and gaping after Preſents, horribly exacting for Anchorage, and hoiſting up the Price of their Pepper from twelve and thirteen, to twenty Rials *per* Bahar. Beſides, ſo intolerably trickiſh in their Dealings, and abuſeful in their Delays, that a Ship muſt be expoſed to great Inconveniencies to wait upon them, and attend their Leiſure.

We had no Way to cure them of their Diſtempers, but by weighing Anchor, and pretending to be gone; and then they could come after us faſt enough, and bring the Pepper on Board, whereas before we could get none aſhore. The Praws came ſo thick about us, that we were held cloſely to it for four Days, to weigh what they brought. We took to the Quantity of 200 Bahars, at eighteen Rials *per* Bahar, and two Rials Cuſtom to the Governor upon every Bahar.

We proceeded from hence to *Bantam*, where we provided the reſt of our Lading, and from thence ſet ſail for *England*; having all the Company we brought out, not only alive, but in a good State of Health, which was never interrupted by any Sickneſs among us, till we croſſed the Line the ſecond Time in our Voyage from *Bantam*, and then the Scurvy broke out: But we quickly had the Remedy of the comfortable Sight of our own native Country.

The Voyage of Captain NICHOLAS DOWNTON, *being the firſt ſet forth by the United Stocks of the* Eaſt-India *Company: Written by the Captain himſelf.*

THIS Fleet conſiſted of the *New-Year's Gift*, Admiral, of 650 Tons, the *Hector*, Vice-Admiral, of 500, the *Merchants Hope*, of 300, the *Solomon* of 200, all well furniſhed and appointed for ſuch a Voyage; upon which they proceeded in the Year 1614.

In our Paſſage to the Bay of *Soldania*, ſays the Captain, I obſerved ſome ſurpriſing Differences between the Varying now, and what it was ſome

Years ago, when I ſailed this Way in the *Peppercorn*, which inclined me (when I came into the Bay of *Soldania)* to order ſome further Obſervations to be made in that Matter. Accordingly we found, upon Trial, 1 Deg. 45 Min. varying Weſterly; whereas, for the moſt Part, by former Accounts, the varying at this Place had been reckoned Eaſterly. The Reaſon of this may lie in the Dark, but the Matter of Fact is as clear a Light, as juſt Obſervation can ſet it.

We left here the Company of *Coree*, the *Soldanian*, who having been tranſported to *England*, had lived there a pining, diſcontented Life, and could never be eaſy till he was brought back again to the beaſtly Company of the *Soldanians*. All the good Uſage of the *Engliſh*, all the Toys and Trifles given to pleaſe him; Sports, Company, good Victuals and Apparel, ſignified nothing to this Brute out of his own dirty Element. Nothing could make him Amends for the Loſs of thoſe agreeable Pleaſures and Diverſions which his native Soil afforded him. To run about the Woods with that wild and brutiſh Herd, to dance and roll in the Mud, and eat raw Guts and Garbage; to be dreſſed in Sheep-ſkins, according to his Country Mode, and to be rubbed all over with Greaſe and Cow-dung: Theſe Entertainments the poor Creature droop'd and languiſh'd after, and could not poſſibly hold out any longer in a State of Separation from them. To eaſe him therefore of his Burthens, he was brought hither again, where we had his Company for a little while, when he packed up all his Things, and went up into the Country, promiſing to be with us again, but we never ſaw him after that Time.

When we came to *St. Auguſtine*'s Bay, all the People unanimouſly quitted their Habitations, and run away. However, at laſt they recover'd ſo much Spirit as to come and ſhew themſelves, and by Degrees, were bold enough to venture upon a little Trade with us, and we had no further Deſign upon them, than to procure ſome Neceſſaries for our Refreſhment.

We ſail'd from hence to the Iſland of *Zocotora*, where the King received us in a very civil Manner. He inform'd us of the Stirs and Tumults in the *Eaſt-Indies* at this Time; how the *Great Mogul*, and the Kings of *Decan*, &c. had joined their Powers to root the *Portugueze* out of that Country, who had lately robbed one of their Ships of three Millions of Treaſure. The News of Captain *Beſt*'s Victory over them, was likewiſe ſpread about all thoſe Parts, to the no ſmall Advantage and Reputation of the *Engliſh* Nation. I dealt with the King for 2722 Pounds of Aloes, and then purſued my Voyage to the *Indies*.

When we came thither, we found the Country embroil'd, as the King of *Zocotora* had informed us. The *Mogul*'s Forces had actually laid Siege to *Damon* and *Diu*, two Cities held by the *Portugueze*, and Preparations were making for other Attempts againſt them. But the *Mogul* having beſtow'd the Command of the Army on *Mocrebchan*, it looked as if the War would not be carried on with much Warmth and Vigour; that corrupt Miniſter being a Favourer of the *Portugueze*, and one of their moſt uſeful Tools in carrying on their Deſigns formerly at Court. He was at this Time Governor of *Surat*, and all the adjacent Country, which fell out very ill for us; he being as much the profeſſed Enemy of our Nation, as he was the under-hand Friend of the *Portugueze*. Theſe croſs Circumſtances on every Hand, gave us no little Embarraſſment. The ſincere Friendſhip of *Mocrebchan* was hardly to be hoped for, and his pretended Kindneſs as little to be truſted to; and yet nothing could be done without him, ſo great was his Authority in all thoſe Parts. However, ſome Attempts were to be made, and ſome Endeavours uſed, to ſweeten, if poſſible, his ill Temper, and make him our Friend, at leaſt not an Adverſary to our Intereſt and Trade.

In order to this, I went aſhore to confer with a great Man he had ſent for that Purpoſe; but knowing the Humour of the Country, that they will hear no Diſcourſe of this Kind, that is not well prepar'd with Gifts and Preſents, I made that neceſſary Introduction with a good Preſent, both to himſelf and *Mocrebchan*. My Demands were, the Enlargement of our Privileges, the leſſening our Cuſtom, and that we might be allowed a free Market. The leſſening the Cuſtom, he ſaid, could not be granted, becauſe the King had farmed it out to a certain Officer at ſo much *per Annum*. As for the Market, we might have that for ſome particular Sorts of Proviſion, but not for Beeves and Kine (which was that we only wanted it for) becauſe the *Bannians*, who, in their Principles, are againſt ſhedding the Blood of any Animal, had bargain'd with the King for ſo much a Year, that the Lives of all thoſe Creatures might be ſpared. This was manifeſtly to croſs and thwart us, under a Pretence of being kind to us; for tho' the *Bannians* are fooliſh and ſuperſtitious enough to do as much as this comes to, yet why ſhould they not be as tender o the Lives of Sheep and Goats, as of Oxen an Bullocks. Beſides, I never knew that we were under ſuch a Reſtraint in *India* before; and it wa odd, that the ſuperſtitious Humour of the *Banni* ſhould work ſo powerfully juſt at this Time, and at that particular Place where the Conveniencies of Affairs particularly required a Market. But the main Point was, that we muſt aſſiſt them againſt the *Portugueze*, and then we ſhould find *Mocrebchan* as kind as we could deſire.

Finding nothing could be done with this Perſon, I ſent ſome of my Company, with due Inſtructions, along with him to *Mocrebchan* himſelf. At this Conference, the ſame Demands were made on both Sides as before; on ours, as to the Matter of Trade, and on theirs, as to the Buſineſs of engaging in their Quarrel againſt the *Portugueze*. This Point *Mocrebchan* inſiſted upon with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that all our Succeſs turn'd upon this Hinge.

Our Deputies, according to their Inſtructions, alledged, that there being Peace between us and the King of *Spain*, for us, without any juſt Provocation, to fall upon the *Portugueze* (Subjects of that Crown) would be to violate that League which was eſtabliſhed between the two Courts. That, if the *Portugueze* came and bid us Defiance, or offer'd any Violence or Affront that would juſtify the taking up Arms againſt them, he ſhould find us not backward to expreſs our juſt Reſentments, and treat them as they deſerv'd; but could not, in Reaſon or Juſtice, be concern'd in any Act of Hoſtility, or openly draw the Sword againſt them, in mere Compliment to the *Indians*. Upon which he diſmiſſed our Men with this ſhort Anſwer, That ſince we would do nothing for him, he would do nothing for us. Not that he had ſuch an ardent Zeal for his Prince's Honour and Intereſt, or ſuch a mortal Hatred to the *Portugueze* as he pretended: But the Buſineſs was, that if, by our Aſſiſtance, he could have got ſome Victory over them, and ſo made a further Step into his Prince's Favour and good

Opinion, he would gladly have done it. His Care was, to do himſelf a good Turn; and a Man of his treacherous ambitious Temper, would not ſtick at over-turning *Portugueze*, or *Engliſh*, or any elſe that lay in his Way, when his own Intereſt was to be ſerved by the Ruin of others. And upon our refuſing to join in this Action, he became our utter Enemy; vilified the Preſents ſent by his Majeſty to the *Mogul*; hinder'd our Trade, and abus'd our Merchants himſelf with the baſeſt Language.

The Jeſuits, who never uſed to ſet any Value upon the Friendſhip of the *Engliſh* Nation, yet at this Juncture, to do us a Miſchief, they told *Mocrebchan*, that the Viceroy of *Goa* had ſent Word, that unleſs he made Peace with him, he and the *Engliſh*, his Friends and Allies, would both fall upon him. This was a wicked Artifice, and the higheſt Expreſſion of Enmity that could be, in that Circumſtance, to claim ſuch an Intereſt in our Friendſhip and Alliance.

But after all theſe croſs and contrary Events, the Scene, at laſt, changed in our Favour: For the *Mogul*'s Firmans came, empowering us to trade; now his Majeſty's Preſents were ordered to be forthwith diſpatched to *Agra*; the Merchants were honourably entertain'd, and preſented by *Mocrebchan*; all paſt Miſunderſtandings ſeemed to be forgot, and nothing remain'd but Sweetneſs and Careſs. He ſent his Preſents to me a Ship-board; and quickly after, paid the other Part of the Compliment by his Son, who came to deſire an Interview aſhore.

This friendly Correſpondence, between us and the Country, was renewed in a happy Time for them, conſidering the Storm with which they were now threaten'd, from the Fury of which they had no other Protectors but ourſelves. For now, by certain Advices received, the *Portugueze* Viceroy was coming from *Goa* with the Force of all that Nation, to purſue the War begun; and it was certain, they had actually done great Damage at *Goga*, having burnt the Town and ſeveral Villages about it, beſides ten great Ships, and 120 ſmall Veſſels. It was alſo expreſsly ſaid, that the Armada was ſet out on our Account, as much as the *Indians*, and that they came to drive us away, as well as to chaſtize the *Indians*; for 'tis not at all unlikely, that the Jeſuits, who told *Mocrebchan* we were Friends to the *Portugueze*, ſent the *Portugueze* Word that we were Friends to, and would ſtand by *Mocrebchan*. That Miſchief that was done at *Goga*, was done by a Squadron of Frigates that came out before the main Fleet; there were about 22 of them in all; and after that, they came and anchor'd in the Sight of us in the River's Mouth. Here they did all the little Villanies they could, chaſing up and down the *Indian* Boats, and firing ſome few Houſes that lay ſcattering upon the River; all which Time we lay ſtill, and never offer'd to interrupt them. Some little Bickering happened between one of our Ships and them, upon the Occaſion of a Granado of the *Portugueze*; but we came to no Action, we not thinking it prudent to weaken ourſelves by ſpending upon a Part, what we muſt quickly be forced to employ in fighting the whole Fleet together.

The reſt of the Frigates came in quickly after, and they were ſoon follow'd by the Viceroy himſelf, with all the more formidable Part of their Sea-Force. Their Strength conſiſted of ſix Galleons, three Ships, two Galleys, and ſixty Frigates, a very unequal Match for four Ships. But beſides the Advantage of their vaſt Number, they had ſeveral others equally conſiderable; for out of that great Fleet, the Viceroy could ſupply his fighting Ships with Men as faſt as they were killed or diſabled; but it was impoſſible for us to do ſo, we having no more than what the neceſſary Offices of the Ships required; beſides, in the *Portugueze* Fleet, there was a Diſtinction between Soldiers and Mariners; they had Slaves and inferior Fellows to do all the burdenſome and ſervile Work, the Soldiers being kept freſh and in good Heart; but with us, the Soldiers and the Sailors were the ſame Perſons, Men half tired and ſpent with heaving at the Capſton, getting up Anchors, ſetting of Sails, and various other toilſome Works, which may well be ſuppos'd to unfit Men for ſuch hot Actions as they were to be engaged in.

The *Portugueze* Fleet was no ſooner come to an Anchor in the Road, but *Mocrebchan* (terrified with the Proſpect of ſuch a Power) ſent Meſſengers to the Viceroy to treat of a Peace; and the better to perſuade him to it, urged him (among other Arguments) with that of Gifts and Preſents. This was what the Viceroy wanted; but ſeeing the Fear and deſpicable Cowardice of *Mocrebchan*, he ſtood off with all the ſeeming Stiffneſs and Averſion that could be; braving and inſulting ſo much the more, as he perceiv'd the other diſpos'd to cringe and court him to a Peace. And *Mocrebchan* was even willing, upon any Terms, to compound and make up the Matter with the Viceroy, ſo black were his Apprehenſions of the Conſequences of this War: For he, and all the Country, abſolutely deſpair'd of our being able to do any Thing in their Defence againſt ſo mighty an Adverſary; they believ'd it would be but Sport and Play to that vaſt Fleet to ſink and take ours, and to do with us as they pleaſed. On the other Hand, the Preſumption of the Viceroy was as great as their Deſpair, which was one Reaſon for his rejecting *Mocrebchan*'s Propoſals;

ſals; becauſe, after he had conquer'd us, which he made no Doubt of, he ſhould appear ſo much the more formidable to the *Indians*, and force them to a Submiſſion upon more advantageous Terms.

As for ourſelves, having taken all due Meaſures for our Defence and Security in this difficult and diſadvantageous Conflict; with the concurrent Approbation of all our Captains and Maſters, as the beſt Courſe to be taken, I commanded one of my Ships, the *Hope*, at low Water, to move towards the Enemy, to prepare them for ſome Attempt, and ſtood after her with the other three Ships, upon coming on of the Flood. The *Portugueze* preſently thinking we were all contriving to run away, made out, as the Stream would permit them, to ſtop our Motions, and the *Hope* being foremoſt, they immediately attack'd her with three of their great Ships, the two Galleys, and the beſt Part of the Frigates; the Galleons alſo making after as faſt as they could for the Sands. By that Time we came up to her Defence, the Enemy had boarded her with a great Number of Men; but they quickly found themſelves in a great Streight, how, and where to diſpoſe of themſelves; for they could neither ſtay in the *Hope*, nor get back to their own Ships, for our great and ſmall Shot, which we pour'd in plentifully upon them. As the beſt Courſe they could take therefore in this Extremity, they very fairly leaped over-board, truſting to their own Ships to fiſh them up as they could, tho' a great Number of them were drowned, and a much greater (at leaſt, the more conſiderable Part of them for Quality) loſt their Lives in the Encounter aboard the *Hope*.

Having thus fail'd of taking the *Hope* this Way, they reſolv'd, if poſſible, to ſet her a-fire, and to accompliſh it, they ſet ſome of their own into a light Flame; but theſe flaming Ships, which were intended to be let looſe upon ours, drove quite from us, and run a-ground upon the Sands, where they continued burning till the next Flood quenched them.

We had five Men killed, and ſome few wounded, and the Tackling of ſome of our Ships prejudiced, which was the Sum of all the Loſs we ſuſtained by this Day's Action. And tho' the *Portugueze* were as ready to leave off fighting as we, yet had it not been for the Injuries the *Hope* received in the firſt Onſet, I had not diſcharged them ſo, nor let the Viceroy have retired, before I had exchanged a Gun or two with himſelf.

The Country was not a little revived to ſee the Diſpute ſo ſucceſsfully manag'd againſt the *Portugueze*. By this Time *Mocrebchan* was pretty well recovered of his Fright; and now began to bounce, as the Viceroy did before, declaring he had no Mind to make Peace with them; and he never would agree upon any Terms with them, but what ſhould be equally advantageous to us, and to themſelves. He likewiſe ſent us in Proviſions for our own Neceſſities, and Timber for any Reparation of our Ships; and nothing could be more obliging to him than this Fight was; in the Honour of which he hoped to have ſome Share, tho' he had none in the Danger, and hard Service of it.

In the mean Time, the Jeſuits took as much Pains to provide for our Deſtruction at Land, as their Friends the *Portugueze* had to ruin us at Sea; and ſince no other Way was practicable at preſent, they attempted it by Poiſon; an Art which much Practice and Experience had rendered them very ſkilful in. The Governor of *Surat* was deſired by them to undertake the active Part of the Work, but the Invention and Contrivance they would furniſh him with; and that was, to poiſon the Well from whence we had all our Water. But he, a Man of juſt and honourable Principles, deteſting ſo baſe a Villainy, rejected the Propoſal with Indignation, and directly came and told us of the Deſign. And that we might live ſecure, and know by an infallible Sign, whether the Jeſuits had ſecretly poiſoned the Water or no, he told us he had put ſome Tortoiſes into the Well, which by dying would demonſtrate the Abuſe of the Water.

The *Portugueze*, all this while, lay ſtill as to any Attempt upon us; but the World was very buſy in talking of them, and their Loſſes ſuſtained in the late Engagement. For the News came from *Damon*, that they had ſent 350 Men to be buried there; and by a modeſt Computation, we cannot allow leſs than 100 more killed and burnt in the Ships, beſides thoſe that were drowned.

The *Perſians*, at this Time, were alſo engaged againſt them at *Ormus*; and at *Malacca* they had their Hands full with other Adverſaries: Upon all which Accounts, they were now pretty well inclined to Peace; and it was high Time, when the King of *Perſia*, the *Mogul*, and the *Engliſh*, were all in Arms againſt tham.

The Jeſuits eagerly endeavoured to make them and the *Mogul* Friends again, and wrought ſo far as to bring Matters to a Treaty; but the Pride and unjuſt Demands of the *Portugueze*, ruined all: For tho' they had done prodigious Damages, they were ſo far from yielding to make any Satisfaction, that they demanded a vaſt Sum of Money from the *Mogul*. The Senſe of which was, that they had been at ſome Charge to waſte and ſpoil his Country, and they would be paid what they had been out of Pocket on that Account. So that now they ſtood upon the ſame Terms with one another, as before; and the Viceroy accordingly ſent for more Supplies for carrying on the War.

Perpetual Liberty of Trade is certainly the leaſt Debt the *Mogul* owes the *Engliſh* Nation. It needs no Proof, that the *Mogul*'s Force at Sea is very contemptible, eſpecially if compared with that of *Portugal:* And it it as eaſy to imagine what would have been the Conſequences of the *Portugueze* coming down upon them at *Surat*, without meeting an adverſe Power to bid them Defiance by the Way.

Some of our Company who had been diſpatched to ſeveral Parts of the Country, upon the Concerns of Trade, had bought up conſiderable Quantities of Indigo, and other Commodities. They found it very dangerous travelling, even with a good Guard, becauſe of the Reſboots, or Gentile *Indians*, that were robbing every where upon the Road. But notwithſtanding theſe Thieves by Land, and the *Portugueze* watching us by Water, we got our Commodities ſafe aboard.

But the freſh Supplies ſent for by the Viceroy, were now come, and the Affairs of Trade muſt again be adjourned, and give Place to thoſe of War. Theſe Supplies were rather Fire-ſhips than fighting ones; and the *Portugueze*, deſpairing of worſting us any other Way, had brought up theſe Machines, filled with all Sorts of Combuſtibles, to burn or blow us out of the Road. They were too ſenſible of the Effect of the former Engagement, to enter upon another in a fair and open Manner: For now they would put up an Affront, and tamely bear to be inſulted and provoked to fight; and I often diſcharged one of my biggeſt Guns, directed to the very Prow of the Viceroy, to try his Temper; but he would not ſtir.

All their Hopes of Succeſs againſt us, depending on the happy Management of the Fire-ſhips, they play'd that Part with their beſt Policy, giving us falſe Alarms, and drawing our Expectations of an Aſſault from them towards one particular Quarter, that ſo while we uſed our chief Care in guarding that Way, they might drive their flaming Ships upon us a contrary. But they taught us by theſe Tricks how to defend ourſelves; and not making the Thruſt home where they pretended to offer it, we were cautioned to guard a leſs ſuſpected Part. Thus, when in the dark Night, the Machines having crept round about us, came driving along with the Tide directly upon us; which our Watch diſcovering at a reaſonable Diſtance, we had timely Warning to prepare ourſelves for: They blew up as they paſſed by us, and diſcharged a vaſt Quantity of murdering Stuff; but (God be thanked) did no Harm to any of our Ships.

They attempted us by the ſame Method two ſeveral Times afterwards, but ſtill with the ſame Succeſs.

The Viceroy being thus baffled in all his Attempts, began to think how to diſengage himſelf; and ſo great was the Abatement of his Stomach, by theſe Diſappointments, that he prov'd humble enough to make Motions for Peace.

But *Mocrebchan* now took his Turn to bounce, and acted juſt the ſame Part as the Viceroy had done before. In ſhort, he ſent him poſitive Word, That he would make no Peace with him: As alſo, that ſince he was not able, with all his Fleet, to drive four *Engliſh* Merchant-men out of the Road, he would be reckon'd a much leſs formidable Enemy by the Country for the future.

The Viceroy was fain to take this Anſwer, ſince he could get no better; and ſo leaving ſome of his Frigates to attend hereabouts, he ſet Sail, with the reſt of his Fleet, for *Goa*, carrying with them the Glory of the great Actions performed at *Surat.*

Having now no Occaſion to ſtay here any longer, we prepared to proſecute our Voyage to other Parts. But the *Indians*, who looked upon us as the Guard and Strength of their Country at this Juncture, would not be brought to conſent we ſhould go ſo very ſuddenly, leſt the *Portugueze*, having got more Forces together, ſhould as ſoon come upon them again. We yielded therefore to their Importunity, and agreed to ſtay ſome few Days longer, as well to oblige them as to provide for our own neceſſary Occaſions.

In this Time I had a ſolemn Interview with *Mocrebchan*, who came to make his Prince's and Country's Acknowledgment of the Benefit they had received by us. I went aſhore to the Tent ſet up for our Entertainment, where this great Favourite of his Prince was ready to receive me, with all the Expreſſions of Reſpect and Good-will imaginable; and to return his Civility, I made him the Compliment of an Invitation a Ship-board, which he as readily accepted, and ſaw all the Particulars of our Fleet with a great deal of Satisfaction. He beſtowed ſome Money among the Seamen, in Acknowledgment of our Victory over the *Portugueze*, preſented me with his own Sword, which is the Cuſtom of that Country with reſpect to Officers who have ſignalized themſelves in any conſiderable Action: But we were no Way in Debt, either to the Public or himſelf, eſpecially conſidering that we were not behind-hand with him in Preſents; nor received any Thing, but we did as good, if not more, than buy.

All the Ceremonies of this Kind being at an End, and the Viſits of the great Men paid, we ſet Sail from *Surat*; but we were but juſt gone out of the Road, when we deſcried a conſiderable Fleet of *Portugueze* Frigates making towards the Town. To ſhew our Good-will, as alſo to encourage our Friends in the Town, we ſhot at ſome of them, tho' we were at too great a Diſtance to do them any Miſchief.

They had behind them ſeveral Galleons and Galleys, which made the greateſt Part of their Strength, and coming up, put toward the Shore; but having diſcovered us, immediately began to ſtand after us, tho' they made ſo little Haſte, as plainly ſhewed they had no Mind to overtake us. I very well knew, that they durſt not attempt to land at *Surat*, till they were ſure we were too far off to come to prevent or diſturb them in that Deſign; but yet, neither the Seaſon, nor our Affairs, would allow us to lie there and watch their Motions, and wait till they began the Enterpriſe they intended, whatever it was. Our Care therefore was to draw them after us, not only for the Advantage of more Sea-Room, if it came to a Battle, but alſo to gain ſo much Time for refreſhing our feeble and tired Men. And this Plot ſucceeded according to our Deſires; for as we ſailed on, the *Portugueze* came after us, at their ſtately Rate; ſtill keeping in Motion, but coming on ſo heavily, that to attend them any longer, had been an Injury to ourſelves.

To bring the Matter to an Iſſue one Way or other, we concluded, if they would come a little nearer to us, to charge them without farther Ceremony, and for the greater Terror of the reſt, to begin with the Viceroy himſelf, plying him with the Ordnance of all the Ships at once. Accordingly we made a little Halt, which the *Portugueze* interpreting to be a ſtaying for them, and ſo to be a Kind of Defiance or Contempt of their Power, they immediately turned about, and ſailed towards the Shore, deſiſting from any farther Purſuit of ſuch an untoward Game as we proved to be.

They went on towards *Goa*, and were obliged to do ſo, becauſe of the bad winterly Weather that was now ſoon expected; ſo that *Surat* was ſecure for this Year; and we ſaw their Danger paſt, before we ourſelves were gone out of Call.

Having our Hands clear of them, we proſecuted our Voyage towards *Bantam*; in which Courſe we diſpatched the *Hope* for *England*; and having doubled Cape *Comorin*, came to an Anchor under a pleaſant Iſland, to the North-ſide of the Salt Hill.

We arrived at *Bantam*, in *June*, 1615, where we weighed Mace, and took in Silk to lade the *Solomon* for *Maſulipatan*, which was ſent thither with a conſiderable Number of Merchants.

We had Advice here of the violent Proceedings of the *Dutch*, againſt ſome of our Factors at *Macaſſar*, and that they threaten'd to come with a Force to turn the King of *Bantam* out of his Kingdom, and place another in his Room.

Here the brave Captain *Downton* died, and conſequently here his Journal ends. The following ſhort Notes are taken from the Memorandums of his Succeſſor Captain *Elkington.*

It was as much as ever we could could do to live in any tolerable Peace with the *Dutch* here, they being ſo very ready to quarrel with us; and rather than fail, as prone to make or contrive Occaſions for Contentions.

A noble *Indian* came hither from *Puloway*, to make Propoſals to us about trading with that and the other Iſlands of *Banda*. He declared in an Aſſembly of our Merchants, That thoſe Places were ſo oppreſſed with the horrid Inſolence and Tyranny of the *Dutch*, that they were all diſpoſed for an unanimous Attempt for their Expulſion; at leaſt they would endeavour to make them more quiet and civil than they were. That if we would ſtand by them, and furniſh them with Ammunition for the carrying on ſuch a Deſign, they would turn over all the Spice-Trade of thoſe Iſlands into our Hands. But we could enter into no ſolemn Agreement with them of this Nature, till we had farther Orders from *England*, tho' in the mean Time we promiſed what Aſſiſtance we could, as alſo to ſend a Ship to know their Propoſals at large, and what Security they could give us for the Performance of what they engaged to do, with reſpect to the putting us in Poſſeſſion of that Trade.

Our Buſineſs being finiſhed at *Bantam*, we ſet Sail directly for *England*, where we arrived in *October*, 1614.

The Voyage and Obſervations of Sir THOMAS ROWE, *Ambaſſador from King* JAMES I. *to the* GREAT MOGUL.

THE Reader has already ſeen the glorious Spirit that animated the Heroes who flouriſhed in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; this Spirit did not die with their Royal Patroneſs, but was exerted with as much Vigour and Activity as ever, by the Subjects of her Succeſſor; and I wiſh I could ſay, it had met with the ſame Encouragement. But our Buſineſs is Narrative and not Reflection, and therefore we ſhall proceed to the Relation of Sir *Thomas Rowe*'s Ambaſſage to the *Great Mogul*, which was the firſt perform'd in that Reign.

Sir *Thomas Rowe* was born in the Year 1568, at *Wanſtead*, in *Eſſex*; his Father was likewiſe a Knight, and Lord Mayor of *London*, who gave his Son a liberal Education, and enter'd him of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*. In the Year 1604, he was knighted by King *James* I. and Prince *Henry*, who eſteemed him for his great Abilities, employed him upon ſome Diſcoveries to the *Weſt-Indies*, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo extremely well, that the King thought him a proper Perſon to go in Quality of his Ambaſſador to the *Great Mogul*.

He embarked about the Beginning of *March*, 1615, and on the 5th of *June*, his Ship anchor'd in the Bay of *Saldanna*, where the Soil is fruitful, bounded by a mountainous rocky Country, covered with Snow. The Inhabitants feed on Carrion, and ornament their Necks with Sheep-guts; rubbing their Heads, the Hair of which is curled like the Blacks, with Greaſe and Dirt, by Way of Powder and Pomatum. They cover themſelves with Skins, wearing, next their Body, the fleſhy Side in Summer, and the hairy Side in Winter: They are perfect Brutes, having no Notion of a Deity, nor any Form of Religion; the Air and Water here are both wholeſome. They have Cows, Antelopes, Baboons, Pheaſants, Partridges, Larks, Ducks, wild Geeſe, *&c.* and Whales and Seals are ſometimes caught in the Bay. The Table Mountain of the Cape, which is well known, is 3951 Yards high, in Lat. 34 Deg. and ſome odd Minutes.

The 22d, he made the *Camora Iſlands* which are five in Number, lying between 10 and 14 Deg

South Latitude; of theſe, *Joanna* is the Chief, being about 30 Miles long, and 15 broad. In it there reſided an old Woman, who was Sultanneſs of them all; and four Boats were ſent on Shore to the Iſland of *Molalla*, off which Sir *Thomas* lay, to the Governor, who was the Lady's Son and Deputy, to deſire Liberty to trade; for ſo very abſolute was he, that the Inhabitants durſt not barter even a Cocoa-ſhell without his Permiſſion.

Captain *Newport* was ſent on this Errand, with 40 Men, who found the Governor ſitting on a Mat, under a Junk that was building, with a chequer'd work'd Cap on his Head, a blue and red Callico Mantle on his Shoulders, reaching down to his Knees, and his Legs and Feet bare; when they preſented him with a Gun and a Sword, he gave them four Cows, and full Liberty to trade: He entertained him with Cocoa, while he himſelf chewed Betel, temper'd with calcin'd Oyſter-ſhells, and Arec, a Sort of Nut of a bitteriſh Taſte, that provokes Spitting, cools the Head, and faſtens the Teeth, and by Degrees, colours them red, as it alſo does the Spittle; and this is reckoned a great Beauty; but makes thoſe giddy that are not uſed to it.

From the Governor's Houſe, we were conducted to that of a Carpenter, a Man of great Authority in the Town; it was built of Stone, cemented with Lime; the Out-ſide was wattled with Cane, and the Roof cover'd with Rafters, over which were ſpread Leaves of the Cocoa-tree. At Dinner, every Man was firſt ſerved with Water in a Cocoa-Nut, which he poured into a Wooden Platter, and waſhed, wiping himſelf with a Towel made of the Cocoa Rind; after which Ablution, they were entertained with roaſted Plantains, ſerved up with boiled Rice, Pieces of broiled Kid, and Quarters of Hen.

Their Bread was the Cocoa Pith, mixed with Honey, and fried, and their Drink, Cocoa, Milk, and Palmito Wine.

The People are very neat in their Houſes, which are poorly furniſhed; and take great Care of their Gardens, which are moſtly compoſed of Tobacco and Plantains, incloſed with Cane. Many of them ſpeak and write *Arabic*; nor are they Strangers to the *Portugueze* Tongue. They are ſtrict *Mahometans*, and ſo very jealous, that they ſhut up all their Women at the Approach of Strangers. Here, in Exchange for Linens of all Sorts, Sword-blades, Glaſſes, and Knives, the Iſlanders barter'd fat Cows, good Oxen, Hens, Cocoa, Sheep from *Arabia*, and Plenty of Limes. Here they have Junks of a pretty large Size, built, rigged, caulked *&c.* out of the Cocoa Tree.

Auguſt 2d, they left this Place, and ſteered for the Bay of *Delicia* in the Iſland of *Socotora*, at the Mouth of the Red-Sea, where they came to Anchor on the 24th. *Socotora* lies in the 14 Deg. North Lat. It was at this Time governed by *Amer Benſeid*, Son to the King of *Fortaque* in *Arabia Felix*; he was very abſolute, and no Traffic can be carried on without his Permiſſion. He came down to the Sea-ſide to receive the Ambaſſador, on Horſeback, after the *Arabian* Manner, bare-footed, but his Head covered with a handſome Turban; he was accompanied by three of his principal Officers, one on a Camel, the two others on Horſeback, and attended by a good Guard of Soldiers, all armed with Swords; beſides which, ſome of them had Piſtols, others Muſkets, and others *Turkiſh* Bows. He was eſcorted by one Trumpet, and two or three Kettle-Drums; and he ſeemed to be much in Favour with the People, for they thronged round him, ſhouting and hallooing all the Way.

In this Iſland, Sir *Thomas* obſerves, they made uſe of a Liquor which was very black, and drank it hot; which, very probably, was Coffee, a Beverage not then known among us. The Town, where the King reſided, was built of Stone and Lime; the Houſes flat-roofed, and the lower Part of that wherein he himſelf lived, was divided into Ware-houſes for Goods, and a Wardrobe, in which were ſome Changes of Cloaths, and about twenty-five Books, treating of Law, Hiſtory, or the Lives of their Saints. In the upper Parts of the Houſe were his three Wives; but no-body was allowed to ſee them, tho' the Women of a lower Rank ſhewed themſelves publicly enough, having Silver Rings in their Ears.

Socotora is a hilly barren Soil, producing ſcarcely any Thing but Dates, Rice, and Oranges. Here are Goats, Sheep, and Oxen. There are ſome good Topazes found in this Place; but the principal Commodity is Aloes, being the Juice of a mealy Plant boiled to a Conſiſtency, and laid up to dry. It is a Drug now well known to all our our phyſical People, of ſuch extreme Bitterneſs that it has been called *Fel Naturæ:* There is alſo a little Dragon's Blood, Indigo, and Civet; but theſe are in the Hands of the King. The Religion is that of *Mahomet*; and the People kneel every Night to the Sun, while the Prieſts ſprinkle Water on their Foreheads. They hold their Saints in great Veneration, the Principal of whom lies buried in their chief Town, and they ſay he always appears to warn them of Danger; and they attribue the high Winds to his being abroad.

The Inhabitants are of four different Sorts; thoſe who it is probable are the moſt antient, are a Savage Race, that feed on Roots, ride the Buffalo, and avoid all Converſation with others; they have long Hair, are very lean, and have neither Garments to cover, nor Houſes to ſhelter them; nor, in their Intellects, do they ſeem much ſuperior to Brutes. The next to thoſe are the *Jacobine* Chriſtians, who live retired in the Mountains, to which they have been driven by the *Arabs*, who are the third Sort of Inhabitants, and came in by Conqueſt; theſe are the People of Property; but they ſtand in vaſt Awe of the King, not daring to ſpeak in his Preſence without Leave. The fourth are a Sort of Slaves, who make up the Aloes, and do all the menial Work of the Iſlanders.

Auguſt 31ſt, they weighed Anchor from the Bay of *Delicia*, and made *Surat* the 26th of the following Month, where the Ambaſſador went on Shore, and ſtaid to refreſh himſelf till the 30th of *October*; the Governor behaving very rudely in ſearching his Servants and Baggage, and not ſcrupling to filch ſeveral Things from them. On the 1ſt of *November* he purſued his Journey by Land to the Court of the *Great Mogul*, and on the 6th arrived at *Nuncerpar*, where they had good Bread, being the firſt they taſted ſince they left *Surat*; here they ſaw large Droves of Bullocks, which are very plenty all over the Country, the *Banians* not permitting them to be killed.

On the 10th he encamped without the Walls of the Town of *Chapre*, where he was guarded by a Party of the King of *Brampore*'s Soldiers, to protect him from the Mountain Robbers; and the 14th he came to a Village within two Miles of *Brampore*, where he was met by an Officer of the Houſhold, who conducted him to the Seraglio appointed for his Reception; but the Quarters being very bad, containing only four Apartments, each very ſmall, rounded like an Oven, and built of Brick, the Ambaſſador choſe to repoſe in his Tent; and this was one of the beſt Houſes in the Town; the beſt, except thoſe of a few great Men, being no better than Mud-Walls.

The following Day he had an Audience of the King, who was ſeated on a Stage, with curious Carpeting under his Feet; and a rich Canopy over his Head; the Nobility ſtood round, according to their Ranks, with their Hands before their Eyes. Sir *Thomas* was not permitted to ſit in his Preſence; but ordered into an adjoining Room, where he was told the King would allow him that Liberty, and converſe with him a little; but his Majeſty forgot the Appointment, getting very drunk with ſome Cordials the Ambaſſador had given him among other Preſents. Here Sir *Thomas* was taken ill; yet he left the Place the 27th of *November*, and came, by the 18th of *December*, to an old ruined City called *Cytor*, entirely uninhabited, which, from its magnificent Remains, appears to have been a Place of great Splendor. On the 23d of *December*, he arrived at *Ardſmere*, the Reſidence of the *Great Mogul*, by whom he was admitted to an Audience on the 10th of *January*, in a Place called the *Durbar*. Being conducted to a Rail, where he made a low Bow, he was permitted to paſs it, and ſo proceed with the ſame Ceremony to the Second, juſt under the Monarch, who was ſeated in a little Sort of Gallery, elegantly adorned with Velvets and Silks, and cover'd by a rich Canopy. Immediately under this Balcony, within the ſecond Rail, were the Ambaſſadors and principal Nobility; and within the firſt, the Gentry, and People of inferior Rank; and on the Outſide of all was a promiſcuous Croud of common People.

He received the Ambaſſador in a very gracious Manner, and diſpenſed with his performing the Ceremonies of his Court, out of Reſpect to his Commiſſion, being ſatisfied with bowing after the *Engliſh* Manner. In this Place he ſits once a Day conſtantly to diſtribute his Orders, receive Petitions, grant Audiences, and receive Preſents; and to this Conduct the People are ſo uſed, that if they were to be kept one Day without ſeeing him, and not told the Reaſon of his Abſence, they would be very apt to mutiny; nor will any Excuſe be accepted two Days together; for, on the ſecond Day, four People muſt be admitted to ſee him, as a Deputation from the main Body, who may, from ocular Demonſtration, aſcertain, to their Brethren, the Truth of his being neceſſitated to a Confinement. In a Morning, he generally appears at a Window, having a Proſpect over a large Plain before his Palace, by Way of ſhewing himſelf, where he is again, at Noon, to ſee the wild Beaſts fight, and Elephants exerciſe; after which Amuſements, he retires to his Women, who are kept very cloſe, none but the Eunuchs, who are their Guard, are admitted to ſee them. After Supper, which is generally at Eight in the Evening, he deſcends to a ſpacious Court, where he diſcourſes freely with ſuch of the Nobility, as he appoints for that Evening; they not preſuming, nor indeed daring to come without being order'd. No public Buſineſs, of what Nature ſoever, is tranſacted any where but here, and at the Durbar, and every Thing is regiſter'd in an Office, which any Subject has a Right to ſearch for two Shillings; ſo that, by theſe Means, the meaneſt Mechanic is as well acquainted with the Royal Reſolutions as the firſt Miniſter.

On the 1ſt of *March*, the Ambaſſador rode out to ſee a Pleaſure-houſe of the *Mogul*, the Foundation of which is laid between two Rocks, that ſhade it entirely from the Sun, and ſpread around a Gloomineſs, that, to the melancholy Mind, communicates a Heart-felt Pleaſure. The Rocks about it are plentifully ſtored with wild Peacocks, Turtles, Fowls, and Monkeys.

The eighteen Days Feaſt, in Honour of the New Year, which is called the *Noroſe*, and uſed to be kept only nine Days, beginning with the firſt New Moon, was celebrated the 11th of *March*, with vaſt Grandeur, in the Durbar, where a ſquare Throne of Wood, inlaid with Mother of Pearl, was erected four Feet from the Ground, covered by a Canopy, over which hung a Netting all of Pearls, ornamented, at certain Diſtances, with Gold Apples and other Fruits, and it was ſupported with Cane Pillars, covered with the ſame Stuff. In the Area, appointed for the Reception of the Nobility, were ſpread the richeſt *Perſian* Carpets that could be bought; and a little to the Right of the Throne, appeared ſome few of the great Men who were in waiting, before whom was a Rail all round the Durbar. The chief Perſons of the *Mogul*'s Dominions, had pitched little Tents, lined with Velvet, Damaſk, Taffaty, or Cloth of Gold, wherein they diſplayed great Wealth, and whence they advanced to pay their Duty, and make Preſents to the Sovereign, who formerly uſed to walk from Tent to Tent for them, but now he ſits on the Throne above deſcribed, on a Cuſhion inlaid with Pearls, Diamonds, *&c.* and thither they are brought and laid at his Feet, the Treaſure he then receives, being almoſt incredible.

March 12th, the Ambaſſador had another Audience, and delivered ſome Preſents; at the ſame Time, the Son of *Nama*, a Prince newly become tributary, was introduced to the Preſence, and manifeſted his Reſpect by touching the Ground with his Head. On the 13th, Sir *Thomas* had a ſecond Audience, in order to ſettle the Ratification of the Peace with *England*, and to regiſter the Articles of Commerce. On the 15th, he aſſiſted at the Diverſions of the *Noroſe*, on the Riſing of the Throne, at the *Mogul*'s Right-hand. The young Prince, and the new Tributary took their Stations on the other Side, and hence there was a View of all that was done.

On the 23d, the *Mogul* preſented a Slave to the Ambaſſador in the Perſon of a very handſome young Fellow, accuſed, but not fully convicted of Felony; the Ambaſſador accepted him, ſignifying he would uſe him according to his Behaviour, and keep him in Quality of a Servant, the Laws of *England* not allowing Men to enſlave each other.

March 26th, *Aſaph Chan*, the King's Favourite and Prime Miniſter, had Orders to examine the Articles of Commerce, which Sir *Thomas* had prepared on the Part of the *Engliſh*; the Chief of which were, That the Subjects of *England* ſhould have a free Right to trade to all the *Mogul*'s Ports; the Goods of an *Engliſh* Subject, dying in *India*, ſhould not be confiſcated; and many others, moſt of them Confirmations and Illuſtrations of theſe. The ſame Day, the Ambaſſador being at *Guzalcan*, received Directions from *Aſaph Chan* to rank among the Nobility for the future, and not take up a Place on the Right-hand of the Throne, where he was remarkable by being alone. After ſome Diſpute he ſubmitted; and at the next Audience ranked on the ſame Side with the Prince, who being perſuaded thereto by *Aſaph Chan*, complained of it to the *Mogul:* But he having examined the Ambaſſador's Reaſons, approved of his Reſolution, and ordered him to keep that Station, as propereſt to his Rank and Quality.

March 21ſt, *Aſaph Chan* made an Entertainment for the *Mogul*, which coſt him upwards of 60,000*l.* All the Way the *Mogul* went, was ſpread with rich Carpets, tacked together, which were rolled up behind him as he paſſed, for more than an *Engliſh* Mile. *July* 18th, one of the *Mogul*'s Nephews was ſent to Priſon for refuſing to ſtroke a Lion; and one of his Sons immediately did it: Tho' this was made a Plea for his Confinement, moſt People believed the true Reaſon was, his having lately profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian, to which Change he was perſuaded, being a weak Youth, by ſome who wiſhed to remove him from the Preſence. *June* 25th, *Moereb Chan*, who was a Man of great Power, but Head of a Faction that oppoſed *Aſaph Chan*, ſolicited the Ambaſſador's Friendſhip; who very politically kept fair, but avoided all cloſe Connections with him. He was certainly a Man of Senſe, and knowing in commercial Affairs; he had adviſed that the *Engliſh* ſhould rather import little Curioſities from *China* and *Japan*, Gold Tiſſue and Tapeſtry, than Cloth and ordinary Swords, their uſual Commodities. His Excellency afterwards commenced an Acquaintance with, and viſited *Abdalla*, Treaſurer of the Army, and Commander in Chief of the *Mogul*'s Guards; he was a civil Man, who made but few Compliments, diſcourſed very rationally on military Affairs, and exerciſed his Soldiers, who were good Markſmen both with the Bow and Gun, for the Entertainment of the Ambaſſador.

Moſt of the Month of *July* was conſumed in ſolliciting a Settlement of the Articles; however, on the 15th Sir *Thomas* waited on the *Mogul*, who received him with great Cordiality at the Durbar, and having heard that there was an *Engliſh* Painter in his Train, he deſired to ſee him: This was one Mr. *Hughes*, a good Draughtſman, but no great Proficient in Painting, who accordingly waited on, and had a good deal of Diſcourſe with his Majeſty. Soon after the Ambaſſador gave him a very excellent Picture, a Preſent with which he was much pleaſed; and this being ſeen by one of his beſt Painters, he pretended to make a Copy that could not be diſtinguiſhed from it. *Aſaph Chan* offered to wager a Horſe with the Ambaſſador, in Support of his Ability, and was taken up; but he afterwards declined it. However, a few Days after, the *Mogul* produced ſix Pictures together by Candle-light, five of which were Copies, and ſo exactly done, that it was not without ſome Difficulty Sir *Thomas* could point out the Original. The *Mogul* was vaſtly pleaſed that his Artiſts had performed ſo well, and promiſed his Excellency his own Pourtrait: Then ſat down to drink Alicant, giving Glaſſes to ſeveral of his Attendants, ſaying it was too good to keep; beſides, he was afraid it would grow ſour before he could drink it; and he continued tippling and chatting till he fell faſt aſleep; when, without any Reſpect of Perſons, the Candles were ſuddenly extinguiſhed, and the Ambaſſador left to find his Way out in the Dark.

The ſame Day, an Eunuch being in Bed with a Female Attendant belonging to the Favourite Sultana, was ſurprized in the Fact, and ſtabbed by one of his Brethren, by which Means the Fact was made public; the Eunuch was thrown to the Elephants, and the Lady was condemned to be ſet three Days and two Nights buried up to the Armpits in the Earth, without any Suſtenance whatever, and entirely expoſed to the Inconveniencies of the hot Sun, which, if ſhe ſurvived, ſhe was to be pardoned. She was worth one Million ſix hundred Thouſand Roupies.

July 22d, the Ambaſſador received Letters from *Mahomet Chan*, who preſided at *Brampore*, and ſcorned a mean Action, ſetting forth that he would give the *Engliſh* a Factory at *Borocbe*, and free Liberty of Trade, without Hindrance or Moleſtation.

Mahomet was a Man of Integrity, above being guilty of the little pitiful Extortions of other Governors, and not only a Favourite with the *Mogul*, but beloved by every Body who had any Dealings with him. A Settlement under him was of great Advantage to the *Engliſh* trading to *India*; becauſe it was a good Retreat, in caſe they ſhould be driven, by any ſiniſter Accident, out of *Surat*.

Auguſt 8th, a hundred Thieves were brought chained before the *Mogul*; who having peruſed their Accuſations, ordered the Chief of them to be torn in Pieces by Dogs, and the reſt to be put to Death; a Sentence which was immediately executed without further Proof, they being divided into different Bands, in the ſeveral Streets of the Town; where, while the Dogs made an End of their Leader, the Hands and Feet of the reſt were tied together, and their Heads cut almoſt off with a Sword; after which Operation, they were left by way of Intimidation, in the moſt public Places, where they remained intolerably offenſive to the Smell, as well as horrid to the View.

The 10th, 11th, and 12th, the Ambaſſador endeavoured to make the *Mogul* jealous of the Deſigns of the *Dutch*, who had ſent a Ship into thoſe

Seas, which then lay off *Surat*, waiting the Arrival of a Fleet that was hourly expected. On the 12th he alſo viſited, by Invitation, *Gemaldin Uſſin*, Viceroy of *Pantan*, about 70 Years old; a Man of great Sagacity, affable and polite, a Reſpecter of *Jeſus Chriſt*; extremely well acquainted with the political State of his Maſter's Dominions, and Author of a Hiſtory of his own Times; a Copy of which, Sir *Thomas* tells us, he offered him, but we don't find that he accepted it: The *Mogul* allowed him 1000 Roupies a Day, together with Pay for 5000 Horſe, of which he kept only 1500 on Foot; and tho' that is certainly a conſiderable Income, ſome of the *Mogul*'s Governors had double that Allowance; and great Numbers were on an equal Footing with himſelf.

A few Days after, this Nobleman entertained his Excellency at *Hamar Gemel*, a Pleaſure-houſe and Garden belonging to the King, which he borrowed for that Purpoſe: He received him in a Tent, pitched by the Side of a very fine Pond, with two of his Sons, he having thirty in all, attended by a hundred Servants: Here he ſhewed in the King's Cloſets and Drawing-Room, ſome Antiques, and a few Pieces of Painting, Preſents from the *French* King, and ſome other *European* Princes.

Gemaldin Uſſin ſaid, he hoped his Excellency would accept in good Part ſuch a ſlight Repaſt as a poor Man was able to give; who was ſollicitous of his Friendſhip, and had invited him to eat Bread and Salt with him as a Seal of Friendſhip, which he hoped was not diſagreeable; at the ſame Time he adviſed the Ambaſſador to cauſe one of his own People, who might be uſed as an Interpreter, to be taught the *Perſian* Language; for thoſe who made a Trade of interpreting, were in general falſe and deceitful, and of great Diſadvantage to their Employers, being generally in Fee with ſome great Men about Court, according to whoſe Directions they explained whatever Addreſſes were made to the King; by which Means foreign Affairs were very much retarded. He aſſured him, that, in ſuch a Caſe, he might ſoon obtain the Grant which he ſolicited from the *Mogul*, who had a vaſt Friendſhip for him, upon which Account he might be perſuaded of the Eſteem of all the Nobility, particularly as his Majeſty had, the preceding Night, ſelected from among his Curioſities his own Pourtrait finely done, and delivered it to *Aſaph Chan*, in order that he might preſent it to his Excellency.

After this, Dinner was ſerved up in two different Courſes, one of which was ſet down before the Ambaſſador and his Train, the other before *Gemaldin* and his People; becauſe their Law forbids their eating with Chriſtians. However, the Ambaſſador having reminded him that he had promiſed to eat Bread and Salt with him, he ſat down with him, and eat Raiſins, Almonds, Piſtachoes, and other Fruits. After Dinner they play'd at Cheſs, and when the Ambaſſador would have taken his Leave, his Hoſt prevented him, ſaying, this was but a ſlight Collation, and entreating him to ſtay Supper, which was the principal Entertainment whereto he had invited him. In the mean Time he introduced him to the King of *Decan*'s Ambaſſador, to whom he paid not near ſo much Reſpect.

The Supper was ſoon after ſerved up, and conſiſted of various Kinds of Meats, boiled, fried, and roaſted; Rice dreſſed after different Faſhions, and good Sallads. However, *Gemaldin* ſupped with his other Gueſts, apart from the Ambaſſador; who was vaſtly pleaſed with his Entertainment,

ment, and to whom, at his Departure, were preſented five Caſes of Sugarcandy dreſſed with Muſk, and a Loaf of the fineſt, whiteſt Sugar, weighing 50 *lb.* which his Excellency at firſt refuſed, but *Gemaldin* inſiſted on his taking not only them, but alſo told him that a hundred other Loaves of the ſame Sort were ready for his Acceptance; which that he might not refuſe, ſaid, that he had them from his Government, by Way of Tribute, and they coſt him nothing.

On the 17th, Sir *Thomas* had an Audience of the *Mogul*, at which *Aſaph Chan* was ordered to deliver him his Majeſty's Picture; for which ſome of the Courtiers inſiſted he ſhould return Thanks after their Manner, a Propoſal that he flatly rejected; and the *Mogul* himſelf cried out, that his making ſuch an Acknowledgment as was uſual in *England* was ſufficient: Upon which it was put round his Neck, then having taken off his Hat, and being led right before the Regal Throne, he made a low Bow, and retired.

This Picture was appended to a ſlight Chain of Gold Wire, with one Pearl hanging from it, of but an indifferent Kind; and tho' ſcarce worth 30 *l.* was one of the moſt valuable Preſents his Majeſty had made a great while. It is a Mark of great Diſtinction, nobody being allowed to wear it but thoſe to whom his Majeſty himſelf gives it; and if they chuſe to ornament the Preſent, which is plain, and ſeldom ſo large as a Sixpence, they may.

On the 19th, *Gemaldin Uſſin* being appointed Governor of *Syndu*, viſited the Ambaſſador, accompanied by two of his Sons, and two Gentlemen, with a Train of a hundred Servants; he ſtaid to dine, and eat of ſome Diſhes dreſſed purpoſely for him by a *Mooriſh* Cook; however, he privately deſired, that his Excellency would ſend him four or five Sorts of baked Meats done after the Chriſtian Faſhion, which had caught his Attention; it was accordingly done, and he eat them at Home without Witneſs. At his Departure he invited his Excellency to *Syndu*, aſſured him of his Readineſs to do him every good Office, and, according to Cuſtom, accepted ſome trifling Preſent.

On the 20th, it being now the rainy Seaſon called the *Elephant*, there was a more heavy Shower than had been ſeen for many Years, threatening the whole Town with Deſtruction; the Inhabitants fled to the Hills, and a Pond, in the Neighbourhood of which ſtood the Ambaſſador's Houſe, built only of Mud Walls raiſed in a low marſhy Soil, overflowed its Banks, and broke down one of its Dams; ſo that his Dwelling would certainly have been waſhed away from its Foundation, and all his Goods ſpoiled had there not been a Channel made by the *Mogul*'s Order, to divert the Courſe of the Flood another Way. Thus Sir *Thomas* tells us, that during his Stay in this Climate, he had ſcarcely one happy Day; being afflicted with Fires, Floods, Storms, Heat, or Cold, having no temperate Weather, and every Plague in extreme. About this Time the *Dutch* obtained Leave to trade at *Surat* for a little Time, but conditionally that they ſhould be ready to decamp at very ſhort Warning. On the 29th, the *Mogul* went to hunt the wild Boar, and killed one of an extraordinary Size with his own Hand, which he ſent as a Preſent to his Excellency; deſiring him to eat of it, and be merry, only to let him have the Tuſks on account of their Bigneſs. Soon after this Occurrence, his Excellency underſtood that the *Mogul* intended to remove to *Mundon*, a Caſtle not far from *Brampore*, that he might be near to ſupport his Son Sultan *Corone*, who was but ill beloved, in the principal Command at *Decan*, with which he had lately inveſted him, contrary to the Conſent and Inclination of moſt of the Nobility.

The *Mogul*'s Birth-day being the 2d of *September*, was celebrated with great Magnificence. It was uſhered in with his being weighed in a Pair of Scales, againſt a few Jewels, Gold, Silver, rich Stuffs, Butter, Rice, Fruits, and other Things, which were afterwards diſtributed among the Bramins or Prieſts; the *Mogul* had given particular Orders for Sir *Thomas* to be invited, but by a Miſtake of *Aſaph Chan*'s Meſſengers, he was not admitted till this Ceremony was over, at which Neglect his Majeſty was very angry, and publickly chid his Favourite for it. There was a very fine Shew of Elephants, which were divided into different Tribes, ſome of them being Lord Elephants, richly ornamented with Gold and Silver Furniture; and the Chief of them, which was wonderfully large, having a Breaſt-plate and Forehead-piece of Gold ſumptuouſly ſtudded with Rubies and Emeralds; each of theſe had ſeveral Flags and curious Streamers waving round them, and attended by eight or ten other Elephants cover'd with Gold and Silver Tiſſue; they all bowed as they paſſed before the *Mogul*; and the Keeper of each made ſome Preſents, this being a principal Part of the Diverſion of the Day.

About ten o'Clock the ſame Night, the Ambaſſador being a-Bed, received an Invitation from the *Mogul*, who deſired to ſee him inſtantly, and a very curious Picture that he had; which his Majeſty promiſed to get copied. The Ambaſſador aroſe, and followed the Meſſenger to Court, where he found the *Mogul* ſitting croſs-legg'd on a Throne, finely ſet off with all Sorts of Jewels, in a moſt magnificent Dreſs. Before him was a Gold Table, on which were laid ſeveral Curioſities of great Value, conſiſting of Gold, Silver, *&c.* adorned with Jewels of the moſt ſuperb Luſtre; there alſo ſtood near him ſeveral Flaggons of Wines of different Sorts, which he ſhared among his Nobility in waiting, who made a moſt ſplendid Appearance, and drank pretty freely.

The Ambaſſador brought with him two Pictures, one of which repreſenting a very beautiful Woman, the *Mogul* was very deſirous of; while the Ambaſſador, who regarded it much, becauſe of the Lady it repreſented, was loth to part with it; but at length, ſeeing his Majeſty coveted it ſo much, he conſented to make him a Preſent of it, which the *Mogul* thankfully received, and aſſured him he could ſcarcely believe it was ever drawn from the Life, but the Effect of ſome brilliant Fancy, for he had never ſeen any Woman who could be ſet in Competition with it; and on the Ambaſſador's anſwering, upon his Honour, that a Friend of his ſat for it, whom he ſincerely eſteemed, the *Mogul* replied, that he would get five Copies of it, and if among them he could ſelect the Original when intermixed, he ſhould have it again.

After this Diſcourſe, he obſerved to his Excellency, that it was his Birth-day, on which all his Friends and Subjects made merry, deſiring to know whether he would drink with him; and the Ambaſſador accommodating himſelf in all Things to his Deſires, the King, having firſt drank himſelf, ſent him a golden Cup of about 20 Ounces Weight, richly adorned with Rubies and Turquoiſe, as was alſo the Cover of it, and a Diſh whereon it was ſet, all of curious Workmanſhip; it was full of very ſtrong Wine, which took away his Excellency's Breath, and made him ſneeze, whereat the the *Mogul* laughed, but told him he was at Liberty to drink juſt what he pleaſed. He ordered him at the ſame Time to ſend the Cup, Diſh, and Cover, to his own home, as a Mark of his Eſteem; for which his Excellency thanked him after the *Engliſh* Faſhion, nor would he touch the Ground with his Head, tho' urg'd thereto by *Aſaph Chan.* Then Raiſins, Almonds, and ſliced Lemons, were preſented to him on a gold Plate; and his Majeſty enquired whether he had been merry over the Boar, how he had dreſſed it, and what he had drank with it?

He afterwards threw a Number of new Roupies among the People below, and ſcattered about the Throne ſome Pieces of Gold and Silver, ſhaped like Almonds, for which all the Noblemen in Waiting ſcrambled, except he who had been lately King of *Candahar*, *Aſaph Chan*, the *Mogul*'s Son, two other Gentlemen, and the Ambaſſador. After this Diverſion he diſtributed gold Saſhes and Girdles among his Writers and Muſicians; and having thus divided his Time between toying and drinking, being now near drunk, he fell faſt aſleep, whereupon every one departed, the Feaſt being ended.

For ſix or ſeven Months, all Sir *Thomas*'s Time was engroſſed in ſoliciting the Great Seal to be put to the Articles he had drawn up and preſented, for Regulation of Commerce, but ineffectually; for *Aſaph Chan*, on whom he principally relied, only dallied with him; wherefore he applied to the Prince, from whoſe Secretary he received an Order relative to the Affairs of the Company, that was very ſatisfactory; and where any of the Articles admitted an Explanation in the leaſt ambiguous, they were clearly ſtated in a Letter to the Governor of *Surat*.

About this Time, *Abdallah Chan*, Governor of *Amadubat*, came to Court to anſwer ſome Accuſations of his having deſpiſed, in many Inſtrances, the King's Authority. He was one of the greateſt Men in all *India*; and it was, at firſt, thought he would have declined anſwering them; but Sultan *Corone* had induced him to it, by promiſing to ſtand by him, and he kept his Word; for he was ambitious of ſecuring to himſelf the Friendſhip of ſo important a Perſonage. He had travelled ſixty Miles in Pilgrim's Weeds on Foot, to ſhew his Humility; however, he had 2000 Horſe attending his Motions one Day's Journey behind him.

On the tenth of *October* he was brought fetter'd to the *Janucho*, where the *Mogul* hears Complaints, and views the public Sports; his Turban had, for ſome Time, been pulled over his Eyes, that his Majeſty might be the firſt Perſon he ſhould ſee at Court; he made the uſual Reverence in the moſt ſuppliant Manner, as ſoon as he appeared in his Preſence; and after a ſhort Examination, was aſſured of his Maſter's Forgiveneſs, his Irons were removed, and he was preſented with a new Veſt of Gold Tiſſue, and a Turban and Girdle to match it.

The great General *Chan Channa* not having ſucceeded in the Wars of *Decan*, the Prince *Corone* imagining he could procure to himſelf great Honour on that Quarter, ſolicited, and was appointed to that Command, which the other refuſed to ſurrender, thereby mortifying extremely the Ambition of the Prince; however, the *Mogul*, who did not chuſe to quarrel with *Chan Channa*, acquieſced in his Refuſal, confirming him in his Command, and informing one of his Kinſwomen who was in the Seraglio, that he would ſend him a Letter, and a Veſt, in Token of Reconciliation; but ſhe anſwered, ſhe was perſuaded he would receive neither, for

Fear of ſome miſchievous Deſign, knowing his Majeſty had twice before endeavoured to effect his Death by Poiſon: This Inſinuation irritated the *Mogul* ſo much, that he changed his Reſolution, determined upon ſending Prince *Corone* to ſuperſede him, and even to ſupport him in Perſon with an auxiliary Army.

This Reſolution reached the Ears of, and gave ſome Uneaſineſs to, *Chan Channa*, who, to avert the Storm, prevailed on the *Decanians*, by whom he was well eſteemed, to ſend Ambaſſadors to Court, to ſue for Peace, before the *Mogul* and the Prince ſet out. They accordingly went thither, with ſome fine Horſes richly capariſoned, by Way of Preſent. But the *Mogul*, who was greatly irritated, refuſed to hear of them, and referred them to his Son, at whoſe Inclination he left it to make either Peace or War; while the haughty *Corone*, conceited of his Power, and ambitious even to a Proverb, refuſed all Terms, tho' very advantageous ones were offered, and declared he would treat no where but in the Field.

Altho' the *Mogul* was ſo partial in the Cauſe of *Corone*, he never deſigned any other but his eldeſt Son, *Corſorone*, who was kept in Priſon by Influence of a Party, for his Succeſſor; it is certain that the latter was univerſally eſteemed, and that the former had ſcarce any Man's Love or Regard.

Few Hiſtories are pregnant with more Matter of Entertainment, than the Reign of *Ezbarſha*, Father to him who was *Mogul* during Sir *Thomas Rowe*'s Embaſſy, nor was even the Time of the Son's having ſat on the Throne of *India* without Amuſement; but as a Recapitulation of ſuch Incidents would be foreign to our Purpoſe, we ſhall content ourſelves with one Narration that abounds with intereſting Particulars; and ſhews, that when the Mildneſs of a Sovereign gives Way too much to Faction, it will puſh its Inſolence to the moſt unjuſtifiable Lengths.

Corſorone, who had once engaged unwillingly in an Inſurrection againſt his Father, being, as we before obſerved, univerſally eſteemed, tho' ſtill kept in Confinement by the Intrigues of *Corone*, *Normahal*, *Aſaph Chan*, and his Father *Elman Doulett*, who acted conjunctively for their own mutual Support, was never in more Danger of his Life, than when *Normahal* uſed all the Artifice of which ſhe was Miſtreſs, to have him deliverd to the Care of his Brother *Corone*, who, ſhe affirmed from the Ties of Blood, would be very careful of his Safety, tho' in Reality their Intention was to take him off by Poiſon. By theſe Means they would not only have removed a powerful Enemy, whoſe juſt Vengeance they had Reaſon one Day to fear, but alſo clear the Way for *Corone* to mount the Throne of *India* at his Father's Death: But all her ſubtile Arguments were ineffectual; the *Mogul* paid them very little Attention, till being near drunk and weary with being teazed, he bid them do what they would with *Corſorone*, and ſo fell faſt aſleep.

Upon this Permiſſion *Aſaph Chan* came the ſame Night with a Guard to the Place of *Corſorone*'s Confinement, and, in the Name of the Prince *Corone*, demanded him of the *Rajah Raſboot Annarah*, to whoſe Cuſtody the *Mogul* had committed him: But this honeſt Nobleman anſwered, that *he had received his Priſoner from his Majeſty, and to him only would he ſurrender him*; ſo that their Scheme was, for this Time, entirely diſconcerted. Next Morning the *Rajah* waited on his Sovereign, who approved his Conduct, bidding him always act in the ſame Manner, in the like Caſe, and he might depend on his Protection. After this Attempt, *Corone*'s Party ſtirred not for ſome Time in the Affair, till he was ſetting out on his *Decan* Expedition, having detained the Ambaſſadors till he arrived on the Frontiers of that Kingdom, where he propoſed to give them a categorical Anſwer, being afraid, that if *Corforone* was left, during his Abſence, in the Hands of *Annarah*, the *Mogul* and he might be reconciled, and the Ruin of their Party thereby founded. *Corone*, before his Departure, ſolicited his Majeſty ſo vehemently to have the Care of him, under Pretence that the People of *Decan* would be the more intimidated by having a Prince, ſo very much favoured, ſent againſt them, that *Annarah* was diſmiſſed from the Charge, and *Corforone* delivered up to *Aſaph Chan*, attended by 200 Horſe belonging to *Corone*.

The Conſequence of this Step was a general Murmur; all Ranks of People were enraged at the Weakneſs of the *Mogul*, the Ambition of *Corone*, and the Inſolence of his Partizans; the whole Seraglio was in an Uproar, and the Ladies refuſed the Viſit of *Normahal*, who was ſent to appeaſe them; every one looked on *Corforone* as already ſacrificed, and his hard Fate was the Topic of general Lamentation, which was increaſed by a Report ſoon after ſpread about, that ſix of the Prince *Corone*'s Domeſticks had endeavoured to enter *Corforone*'s Priſon in the Night, and to murder him; but the Porter, not being in the Secret, refuſed to admit them.

Though the *Mogul* had gratified his ambitious Son, *Corone*, with delivering his Brother to the Care of him and his Party, he kept a watchful Eye over their Conduct, being determined not to countenance the leaſt Indignity that ſhould be offered him; and having been informed by his Spies, that *Aſaph Chan* had rudely preſſed upon his Privacy, and treated him with ſome Diſreſpect, he took an Opportunity of reprimanding him for it in Public with great Auſterity, telling him, *he had not put his Son under his Care for his Deſtruction; and tho' he had gratified* Corone *with the keeping of his Brother, it was not becauſe he loved him leſs*; and he ended his Lecture with obſerving to him, *that if he heard any more of his Inſolence to* Corforone, *he ſhould bow his Neck beneath his Feet, and be trampled by him into Duſt.* This ſeemed to be the Prelude of this Prince's Releaſe, which happened ſhortly after.

On the 13th of *October*, Sir *Thomas* was honoured by the *Mogul*, juſt then returned from the Chace, with a wild Pig, by Way of Preſent; and in the Evening he attended his Levee with an Account of four *Engliſh* Ships being arrived at *Surat*, and was preſently aſked what Preſents they had brought for the Court; to which Queſtion Sir *Thomas* could make no direct Anſwer; however, he obtained an Order for having every Thing conſigned to him to be conveyed to Town, without being liable to Cuſtom-houſe Duty, or Search. At the ſame Time, it being required of his Excellency, he promiſed to procure two Gunners for the Service of *Corone*, in the *Decan* War, from the Fleet, which in its Voyage had fought with and burned a *Portugueze* Ship; whereupon the Ambaſſador propoſed Articles of Peace to the Viceroy of *Goa*, by the Hands of a *Portugueze* Jeſuit.

The ſame Day Prince *Corone* was viſited by *Abdalla Chan*, attended by twenty Muſicians, ſuch as Drummers, *&c.* on Horſeback, fifty Perſons carrying white Streamers, forty Targeteers in ſplendid Liveries, and two hundred Horſemen well mounted, and gallantly accoutred in Velvets and Tiſſue;

his Preſent was a black *Arabian* Horſe, its Furniture flower'd with Gold and adorned with Jewels. In Return, he received the uſual Gifts, a Turban, a Veſt, and a Girdle.

The Entry of *Mahomet Raza Beg*, the new *Perſian* Ambaſſador, was made on the 19th of *October* about Noon. He was attended by fifty Servants well mounted; their Liveries being Cloth of Gold, with Bows, Quivers, and Targets, very richly ornamented; beſides forty Men armed with Guns, and two hundred Foot, who guarded the Baggage. He was received without the Town by a Sort of Uſher, and a hundred Elephants gaily ornamented, conducted by Muſic. He was introduced to the Preſence in the Durbar, towards Evening, paſſing through all the uſual Ceremonies, ſuch as proſtrating himſelf on the Ground, and touching it with the Top of his Head. After which he delivered his Maſter's Letter, which the *Mogul* received, inclining his Body a little, and aſking how his Brother did (meaning the King of *Perſia)* without giving him any other Title. After which Ceremony, the Ambaſſador was order'd to retire among the ſeventh Rank of the King's Attendants, which was but a ſorry Situation for an Ambaſſador. He was attended by nine led Horſes in very ſumptuous Trappings; on his approaching the Court, a String of very beautiful Pearls, Rubies, and Emeralds, was wound not only about his Turban, but alſo about three golden Pipes, wherewith it was ornamented inſtead of Feathers. His Preſents conſiſted of Twenty-ſeven *Perſian* and *Arabian* Horſes, nine large Mules (nine is a Sort of ſacred Number among theſe People) ſeven Camels laden with Velvet, one rich Cabinet, forty Muſkets, five Clocks, twenty-one Camels laden with unadulterated Wine juſt as it had been preſſed from the Grape; fourteen with diſtilled ſweet Waters, ſeven with Roſe-Water, ſeven Daggers nobly adorned with Jewels, five Swords in the ſame Taſte, ſeven beautiful *Venetian* Glaſſes, one Camel laden with Cloth of Gold, eight ſilk Carpets, two Cheſts of *Perſian* Arras, and two Suits of *Venetian* Velvet flowered with Gold, *&c.* In Return, he was rewarded with a Turban, a Veſt, and a Girdle. A Jeſuit, who was preſent at his Reception, and that of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and was well verſed in the Language of the Place, obſerved, that neither the *Mogul*'s Reception of him was ſo cordial and polite, as his Behaviour to Sir *Thomas*; nor were his Expreſſions of Kindneſs, towards the King of *Perſia*, near ſo reſpectful, as thoſe he had uſed when the King of *England* was in the Caſe.

October 20th, his Excellency obtained from the Prince an Order, for having the Preſents, *&c.* forwarded from *Surat*. At the ſame Time, his Highneſs, taking a Fancy to a Feather Sir *Thomas* wore in his Hat, begged it of him; and tho' the Ambaſſador ſaid it was unworthy his Acceptance, he would have it, and more of the ſame Sort, if they could be got; accordingly, the next Day, his Excellency ſent him ſeveral others of various Colours.

In the Evening, the *Perſian* delivered his Preſents at the Durbar, with vaſt Servility, and play'd a thouſand *antick* Tricks by Way of Ceremony; ſeeming, in Rapture, when ſpoke to by the *Mogul*.

On the 24th, the *Mogul* removed to *Havar Gemal*, where the *Perſian* Miniſter ate with the Nobility in his Preſence. On the 25th, returning to Court, ſomebody unadviſedly mentioned the drunken Frolicks of the Night paſt, and that ſome of the Nobility had ſipped Wine pretty freely, which it is a Crime to do without the Monarch's Leave, and to refuſe that Leave is alſo an Offence; and therefore, every Man writes down the Officer's Name by whom he is helped with Wine, that he may be his Witneſs, if it ſhould be requiſite. The *Mogul*, who had been drunk, forgetting his own Order, enquired of the Officer who had ſerved the Liquor, whether it had been by his Command; which being falſly anſwer'd in the Negative, either out of Spite to ſome particular Perſon, or out of Fear, a Liſt was made of all concerned in the Debauch, ſome of whom were fined one, two, or three thouſand Roupies, according to their Fortune; others were ſo ſeverely whipped with iron Rods, that ſome of them died on the Spot; the Porters Staves being broke over the Survivors, they were, thus mangled and abuſed, ſpurned from the Preſence; and when they would have blamed the Ambaſſador, the *Mogul* ſaid, he had ordered him a Couple of Goblets of Wine, but none to them. Though the *Mogul* himſelf often gets drunk, it is ſeverely forbid by the Laws of the Land; and no Man whoſe Breath ſmells of Wine, (the Porters carefully examining every Perſon) is admitted to come before him; nay, if any one of his Attendants is diſcovered to be by ſuch Means prevented appearing in the Preſence when his Duty requires it, ſcarce any Thing will ſave him from a Whipping.

It being near the Time of the King's Departure, his Excellency ſent to *Aſaph Chan* for his Carriages; the *Mogul* having ordered him to be enrolled for twenty Camels, four Carts, and two Coaches, which he ſuppoſed the *Engliſh* Factors, who could not otherwiſe procure Conveniencies to remove their Effects to *Agra*, would want. On the 28th, ſome Boys being condemn'd to be ſold as Slaves for Theft, two of them were offered to the Ambaſſador, whom he redeemed for ten Pounds; this he did to make the *Mogul* have the better Opinion of him, tho' it don't appear that the Monarch was ever acquainted with his Liberality; however, he gave them their Liberty, declaring that Chriſtians never made Slaves of their Fellow Creatures, but contributed as much as they could to their Happineſs.

The ſame Day his Excellency ſent his Compliments to the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, by his Secretary, and offer'd to pay him a Viſit, provided he would return it; but the *Perſian* anſwer'd, it was what he could not do without Permiſſion from his Maſter, which he would ſollicit, and act according to his Inſtructions; obſerving, that nothing could give him more Satisfaction than the Acquaintance of Sir *Thomas Rowe*; which he was perſuaded his Maſter would allow him to cultivate.

November 1ſt, the *Mogul* being ſeated in the Durbar, was waited on by Sultan *Corone*, who came to take his Leave. His Dreſs was Silver Tiſſue, covered over with orient Pearl, and brilliant Diamonds, that ſhone like another Sun; he was attended by 600 Elephants richly capariſon'd, and about 1000 Horſe ſplendidly attired. The *Mogul* embraced and kiſſed him very tenderly; giving him, at his Departure, a Sword in a Golden Scabbard, ſet with Diamonds, valued at 100,000 Roupies; a Dagger in the ſame Taſte, ſaid to be worth 40,000, an Elephant and two Horſes, their Furniture cover'd with Gold and Jewels, and a new Coach made in Imitation of that brought from *England*, in which the Prince departed to his Tents, which were about four Miles off; the principal Nobility walked on Foot on each Side; and he was drove by the *Engliſh* Coachman, into whoſe Hat he put a Handful of Roupies, perhaps a hundred; he was follow'd by Multitudes of People, among whom he ſcatter'd ſmall Pieces of Money.

The 2d, being appointed for the *Mogul*'s Departure, he appeared in the Morning at the *Jaruncbo* Window, fanned by two Eunuchs, with Feathers affixed to long Poles; there he ſcatter'd many Favours, and received ſeveral Preſents; what he gave was fixed to a little Stick, and let down by a ſilken String; and what was given to him, was pulled up by ſuch another Inſtrument, by the Hands of a fat deformed wrinked old Woman, hung round with Gewgaws like a Pagod. Two of his principal Wives having made a Hole thro' their Grate, in order to gaze at the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, ſhewed Part of their Faces, appearing to have white Skins, and very black Hair, richly adorned with Jewels. After having ſtaid at the *Jaruncbo* a good while, the *Mogul* ſuddenly diſappeared, and as he deſcended in a ſhort Time after to go out, he was ſtopped by one Man with a huge Carp, and another with a Diſh of white Stuff, in which, having dipped his Finger, and touched the Fiſh, he then rubbed his Forehead therewith; and this, it ſeems, is a Ceremony to beſpeak good Fortune.

At the Foot of the Stairs, one of his Attendance girded on his Sword and Buckler, adorned with Rubies and Diamonds, and another having furniſhed him with a Bow and Quiver of thirty Arrows, which was one of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador's Preſents, he went into a Coach, made ſo like that given him by Sir *Thomas Rowe*, that it was only to be diſtinguiſhed by a *Perſian* Coverlid of Velvet, embroidered with Gold. This was the firſt Carriage of the Kind he had ever been in, and with him were two Eunuchs, whoſe Office was to fan the Flies from him, with Horſe-tails fixed on Golden Staves, ſet with Rubies; he was preceded with Drums, Trumpets, and other Muſic, with many People bearing ſuch Enſigns of Majeſty as are peculiar to the Country, and theſe marched under the moſt ſumptuous and glittering Umbrellas.

It would be endleſs to deſcribe the Magnificence and Grandeur of the Royal Train, the rich Furniture of the Horſes and Elephants, all cover'd with Cloth of Gold, and glittering with all Sorts of Jewels; each of his Wives, to the Number of fifty, ſeated on an Elephant, in a Turret, with a Grate of Gold to peep thro', and over each, was carried a Canopy of Silver Tiſſue. His own Dreſs was inexpreſſibly rich, with Cloth of Gold, embelliſhed with Rows of Pearls and Diamonds of immenſe Value. As he paſſed by the Door of the Houſe, in which his eldeſt Son was Priſoner, he ſtopped the Coach, and ordered him to be brought forth.

A general Satisfaction was diffuſed among the People, as ſoon as Sultan *Corforone* made his Appearance. He had a Sword and a Buckler, but his Beard was grown down to his Waiſt, on Token of his having been in Diſgrace. The King ordered him to mount one of his Elephants, and to ride next to him, amidſt the loudeſt Acclamations of the People; while he ſcatter'd Money every-where around, his father having given him a thouſand Roupies for that Purpoſe.

And now the Way to the *Mogul's* Tent was lined with Elephants, to the Amount of 300, each bearing a Turret, in the Front of which was a Piece of Cannon, and behind it ſat a Gunner holding a Ball to charge it with, of the Size of a Tennis-Ball; at each Corner of the Turret, waved a Banner of yellow Taffety; and the Duſt along the Road was laid by Footmen, who poured Water from Leathern Bags. Neither Man nor Horſe, except thoſe particularly appointed to attend, were allowed to come within two Furlongs of the *Mogul's* Coach.

Sir *Thomas Rowe* was particularly reſpected by the *Mogul*, when he entered his Tent; for perceiving his Excellency ſtanding among the Nobility, in a Line thro' which he paſſed, his Majeſty laid his Hand on his Breaſt, and inclined his Body; whereas to the *Perſian* Repreſentative he only nodded. When he had waſhed in Public, he retired, as did each Nobleman to his reſpective Tent.

The Royal Tent took up the Space of about half an *Engliſh* Mile; it was formed like a Fort with Angles, Bulwarks, and Curtains of red Arras; the Gates were ſupported by Brazen Pillars; and within, was a Mother of Pearl Throne, raiſed on two Pillars of Earth, with rich Carpeting beneath; a Canopy of Gold Tiſſue over it, and above all, a very high Tent with a Golden Nob on the Pole.

At the Diſtance of five Miles from this Place, was Prince *Corforone*'s Tent, whither Sir *Thomas* went to viſit and compliment him, as well as to ſettle ſome Buſineſs relating to certain Sums of Money due to the *Engliſh*. He was ſeated on a Throne plated with Silver, and inlaid with Gold Flowers; over his Head was a Square Canopy, ſupported by four Pillars, cover'd with Silver, and his Sword, Buckler, Lance, Bows and Arrows were laid on a Table within his Reach; his Countenance was very equal, not ſeeming to reſpect any one Perſon round him, more than another, but rather to have a Contempt, founded upon Pride, for all. On the 9th, being about to remove, he ſent for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and the Meſſenger raved of his Highneſs's Kindneſs for him, and the great Favours he intended him; a Report which was alſo confirmed by a *Dutchman*, who was his Jeweller. This Intimation induced his Excellency to take Horſe and come to him immediately; but after waiting till it was Night, the Prince paſſed him, and ordered a Servant to tell him he would confer with him in the *Guzelcan* in about half an Hour: Notwithſtanding which Promiſe, the Ambaſſador waited for him above an Hour; when being out of all Patience at ſuch trifling, after leaving a ſharp Meſſage with his Attendants, he went to take Horſe; but before he could reach it, ſeveral People were diſpatched to bring him back. As ſoon as he appeared, the Prince received him very cordially, excuſed himſelf for forgetting him, and reprimanded his Officers. He was playing at Cards, and, Compliments paſt, he ſhewed his Excellency his Hand, and adviſed with him about his Game. Soon after, he preſented him with a gaudy Robe of Gold Tiſſue, that he himſelf had worn ſome Time. Caſt Cloaths ſeem an odd Preſent to an Ambaſſador, but in this Country, ſuch a Gift is eſteemed a Mark of peculiar Favour. After this Robe was put on him, and ſome little Buſineſs adjuſted, he was diſmiſs'd from the Audience with a low Bow; but complains in his Journal, that he paid double the Value of the Preſent in what he gave his Highneſs's Attendants, who preſſed about him for that Purpoſe moſt ſhamefully.

On the 16th, all the Huts, which are called *Leſkars*, at *Ardſmere*, were ſet on Fire, to oblige the People to follow the Camp; and the *Engliſh* and *Perſian* Ambaſſadors not finding it eaſy, tho' they had Warrants to impreſs them, to get either Camels or Carts for removing their Equipage, were much expoſed to Thieves, who ſwarmed about the Camp. On the 20th, Sir *Thomas* finding he could only get, upon the Royal Mandate, eight Camels, ſo very poor as to be ſcarcely fit for

Service, was forced to buy others; and then he continued his March on the 1ſt of *December*: In paſſing thro' a Place called *Ramſor*, they ſaw the Bodies of an hundred Men expoſed naked on the Highway, who had been executed for robbing.

On the 6th and 7th, the *Mogul* quarter'd at *Todah*; and the Camp, which is generally pitched in four Hours, preſented a Scene of prodigious Grandeur, as well as Order; it engroſſed a Compaſs of twenty *Engliſh* Miles; every Man, from the firſt *Raja* to the meaneſt Artizan, knowing in what Situation, and at what Diſtance from the Sovereign's Quarters to pitch his Tent; there being regular Streets and Shops containing all Neceſſaries; all which, as well as their Owners, were reſtricted to a Muſket-Shot from him; nor was any Man admitted whoſe Name was not known. The Evening was commonly ſpent in Hunting or Hawking, upon Pools a Mile or two over, in little Boats, which were carry'd in Carts for that Purpoſe. The *Mogul* appeared every Morning as at the *Jaruncho*, but did no Buſineſs till Night at the *Guzelcan*; and then it was ten to one but his Majeſty got drunk, as was the Caſe one Evening that Sir *Thomas* meant to addreſs him upon ſome important Matters; ſo that, during this Route, Buſineſs ſeemed to be but little regarded.

On the 18th of *December*, his Excellency paid the *Mogul* a Viſit, and found him juſt returned from Hunting, with Variety of Game lying before him; the firſt Choice of which he inſiſted on the Ambaſſador's making, and diſtributed the Remainder among his noble Attendants. Near him, at the Foot of his Throne, ſat an old Beggar-man (a Liberty that the Heir to the Crown would ſcarcely have dared to take) with whom his Majeſty talked very familiarly near an Hour, tho' his Aſhes and frouzy Rags would have turned a ſqueamiſh Stomach; but Charity is ſtrongly enforced by the Religion that is here profeſſed. From this Wretch his Majeſty accepted a Cake, folded in a Rag, kneaded by his dirty Hands, the Grain very coarſe, and mixed with Aſhes which adhered to it from the Fire, on which it had rather been burned than baked; he broke and ate a Piece of it; then, wrapping it up in the ſame Clout, put it into the poor Man's Boſom, and poured an hundred Roupies into his Lap, ſome of which falling to the Ground, he ſtooped to gather them up. A Collation being ſerved up, he ſhared it with the Beggar; and when he was about to quit him, embraced him in his Arms, tho' not the moſt cleanly Figure, calling him Father, laying his Hand three Times on his Heart. This old Beggar was attended by a young Patch, who ſhared his good Chear.

On the 23d the Camp moved; and the 26th the Road proved intricate, rugged and fatiguing, lying thro' thick Woods and over craggy Mountains, which tired many People, deſtroy'd ſome Camels, delay'd the Army, and parted ſome from their Baggage, particularly the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who loſt his Tent and Servants, but found them again at Night. After this March his Majeſty reſted two Days; for the Camels and Carriages, with his Women and Equipage, were delay'd on the Road, thro' Wearineſs and Want of Water. The *Mogul* himſelf had been obliged to climb over Rocks that ſcarce any one elſe would have ventured to attempt, mounted on a ſmall Elephant that was very ſure-footed, as indeed they all are, and travel well.

On the 1ſt of *January* 1615, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador complained to *Aſaph Chan* of ſome Grievances under which the *Engliſh* laboured at *Surat*, in ſome Meaſure countenanced by the Prince, whom the Miniſter perſuaded his Excellency to viſit, and to obtain a recommendatory Letter from the *Mogul* to him, relating to this Affair.

The ſame Day, Sir *Thomas* paid a Viſit to the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, who received him with great Complacency, and aſſured him he would, to the utmoſt of his Power, promote the ſettling a Commerce between *England* and *Perſia*. Here his Excellency was entertained with a Banquet of very indifferent Fruit; however, there was ſomething ſo agreeable in the *Perſian*'s Manners, that he was eaſily inclined to overlook the Defect. The *Perſian* was very facetious, and railed very freely at all the *Mogul*'s Court, and the ſhuffling Behaviour of his People; he offered to do Sir *Thomas* any Service he could, and inſiſted on his accepting a Horſe well capariſon'd; which on the other's ſtrenuouſly refuſing, he would have given him nine Pieces of ſuperfine *Perſian* Silk, and nine Bottles of the richeſt Wine, as Marks of his Friendſhip; but his Excellency could not by any Means be perſuaded to take any of them; but in return made him an Offer of the Sword he wore, which was a very fine one, and had attracted the *Perſian*'s Eye, who nevertheleſs refuſed it, tho' ſome Hours after he recanted, and deſired to have the Preſent. At Night his Excellency viſited the *Mogul*, and found him deeply engaged in ſerious Diſcourſe, and reading over Letters with an old crippled Gentleman, whom, at his Departure, he very lovingly embraced, and preſented with 5000 Roupies.

The Camp ſtill continuing in Motion, on the 18th they found themſelves involved in a very narrow troubleſome Paſs, cut between two Mountains, in which they were forced to leave their Baggage and Cattle in great Diſtreſs, and the *Engliſh*

Ambaſſador lodged that Night under a Tree till his Baggage came up. The Country here was full of Robbers; nor were the Inhabitants any great Friends to the *Mogul*, it having been but lately reduced to his Obedience. They fled to the Hills, but ſome of them were brought back, and chained together, two and two, by the Necks. The King, at his Departure, ordered the principal Town to be burnt; and left behind him a Nobleman with ſome Horſe, with Orders to rebuild and repeople it better than before; which Mixture of Severity and Generoſity he thought might teach them to be more civil for the future. However, ſome of the Fugitives, out of Revenge, followed the Camp at a Diſtance, plundering and killing the Straglers that fell in their Way.

On the 22d, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador ſtanding in Sight of a Chamber where the *Mogul* was, accompanied only with *Elyman Doulet* his Father-in-Law, and *Aſaph Chan*, was invited to enter. The *Mogul* was very merry with him, bid him draw near, and talk to him without an Interpreter; which his Excellency made Shift to do, tho' not in the choiceſt *Perſian*; however, he ſpake to make himſelf underſtood, and his Majeſty laugh, tho' their Diſcourſe had not much Senſe or Solidity. Favours of this Sort made the great Men very reſpectful to him.

In the mean Time the Army of *Decan* waited on their Frontiers with 50,000 Horſe, determin'd to fight the *Mogul* there. Sultan *Corone* had as yet proceeded no farther than *Mandoſa*, ſeeming to fear both *Chan Channa* and the Enemy. This Circumſtance induced *Aſaph Chan* and *Normahal* to endeavour to perſuade their Monarch to turn the Expedition into a hunting Journey; for the Monarchs of the Eaſt often go to hunt with as much Force, Grandeur, and Expence, as they manifeſt when they go to War; but he deſpiſed Subterfuge, declaring he would perſiſt in his firſt Reſolution; and for that Purpoſe reinforced his Son's Army with freſh Troops. Water and Proviſions began now to grow very ſcanty in Camp, a Dearth which fell heavy on Strangers, the Soldiery, and the Poor; for the *Mogul* was inſenſible of it, and the Chans were ſupplied by their reſpective People.

February 6th, they encamped at a pleaſant Place called *Calleada*, formerly the Reſidence of the Kings of *Mandoa*; of one of whom it is told, that being uſed to drink exceſſively, he one Night in his Cups dropt into the neighbouring River, and would have been drowned but for the Fidelity of a Slave, who leaping in, caught him by the Hair of the Head, and dragged him to the Shore. Some Time after his Recovery, being told who ſaved him, he called for the Slave, and ordered his Hands to be chopped off in his Preſence; ſaying, it was rather too mild a Puniſhment for the Wretch, who dared to lift his Hands to the Head of his Sovereign. But it happened ſome Time after, that ſitting in the ſame Place, in the ſame Condition, attended only by one of his Wives, he ſlipped in again, and was really drowned, tho' ſhe might with Eaſe have ſaved him, an Office which ſhe ſaid ſhe choſe to decline, leſt he ſhould order her Hands to be cut off.

On the 11th, the *Mogul* rode to *Ugan*, to converſe with a Derviſe living on a Hill near that Place, reported to be 300 Years old. The ſame Day Sir *Thomas* received Advice from *Surat*, that the Preſents from thence, brought thither by the Shipping, and of which his Excellency had been ſo long in Expectation, were ſtopped on the Road by *Corone*, who hoped, but in vain, to compel the Conductors to open them; and that he had, at the ſame Time, ſent Word to his Father, that he had delay'd ſome Merchants Goods, without mentioning their being Preſents, of which he craved Leave to chuſe what he liked. This Perfidy incenſed his Excellency very much; and tho' he had ſome Fears of incenſing *Aſaph Chan*, with whom he did not chuſe to quarrel, he at laſt determined, without ſoliciting his Introduction, to take his new Interpreter, a *Greek* by Birth, and ride out to meet the *Mogul* on his Viſit to the Dervife.

He met that Monarch, mounted on his Elephant, who halted, ſeeing him to make Signs to ſpeak, and prevented him, ſaying, "I ſuppoſe "you come to complain; but be not uneaſy; "I gueſs that the Goods my Son has ſtopt be- "long to you, and that among them were the "Preſents deſigned for me; but be ſatisfied, he "ſhall not open them. At Night I will ſend an "Order to let them proceed on the Journey."

His Excellency accordingly attended him at Night at the *Guzelcan*, where the *Mogul* aſſured him he had already diſpatched Commands, relative to the Goods, to *Corone*, in Conſequence of which he would not dare to meddle with or detain them. But the Ambaſſador inſiſting on Satisfaction for the Affront, the *Mogul* told him poſitively, he muſt pardon it, and his Son ſhould not do ſo again; wherefore he was forced to be content, becauſe he could not help himſelf: Had he ſaid much more, he had perhaps made *Aſaph Chan* his Enemy.

After Affairs were thus ſettled, his Majeſty entered into a familiar Diſpute with his Excellency concerning the Laws of *Moſes*, *Chriſt*, and *Mahomet*,

met, mellowing the Argument with old Wine; and declaring that his Diſpoſition led him to treat with Mildneſs *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, and *Mahometans*, as long as they continued obedient to him, and did not ſeek to diſturb the Peace of his Dominions. In ſhort, the good Man ſpoke ſo feelingly of the Spirit of Religion, and imbibed ſo cordially the Spirit of the Wine, that both conjunctively diſtilled thro' his Eyes; and he wept to think that ſo few People, out of the many who profeſſed themſelves Followers of theſe great Prophets, adhered literally to the excellent Rules they had laid down; and at laſt, his Majeſty breaking his Diſcourſe into ſhort Sentences, fell faſt aſleep, and concluded his Sermon with a drunken Nap.

As his Excellency was pretty certain he had loſt his Intereſt with Prince *Corone*, by having complained of him, he reſolved to endeavour to make the Father as much his Friend as he poſſibly could. In the mean Time the Preſents, which the Factors had detained at *Surat* four Months longer than they ought to have done, without any Reaſon, being arrived at Court, had been privately opened by the *Mogul*'s own Order, who had taken out whatever he liked beſt; the Ambaſſador made a violent Complaint of this Breach of Privilege, whereby all his Preſents, ſome of which were deſigned for the Prince, and ſome for *Normahal*, beſides thoſe intended for his Majeſty, were jumbled together, and perhaps ſpoiled; beſides, he obſerved it was an Inſult the King his Maſter could not be eaſily wrought upon to forgive; nor did he know in what Manner to acquaint him with the Affront.

The *Mogul* received him with great Condeſcenſion, and attended patiently to his Complaint; to which he anſwered, that he would ſatisfy the King of *England*, if he thought himſelf diſreſpected by this Procedure; that it was no more than fair that he ſhould have his Choice of the Preſents; and he was ſure that the Prince and *Normahal* would think it no Diſhonour to be ſerved after him; that for his Part, he liked what he had ſeen very well; and tho' it was uſual never to approach him for Audience without a Gift, he would hereafter excuſe that Ceremony in Sir *Thomas*, and redreſs his Complaints, as well as give him Audience and Satisfaction, tho' he came empty-handed; concluding his Diſcourſe with deſiring the Ambaſſador not to be offended with him; and the other remaining ſilent, he preſſed him to ſpeak, and deſired to know if he was ſatisfied: To which Sir *Thomas* at laſt anſwered, He muſt be ſatisfied if his Majeſty was contented.

Among other Curioſities, there was a Picture repreſenting a *Venus* leading a black Satyr by the Noſe, which ſeemed to give him ſome Offence, he believing it intended as a Reflection upon the *Aſiatics* Attachment to Women; he aſked ſeveral People what they thought of it; but moſt anſwered with Sir *Thomas*, they believed it to be only the Painter's Fancy; however, he kept it; and deſired Sir *Thomas* to get him a large Horſe, a Brace of *Iriſh* Greyhounds, and ſome Couples of other ſporting Dogs for Breed; which Sir *Thomas* promiſed, and, if they ſhould chance to die on Ship-board, he would order their Skins to be ſtuffed and brought to him, that he might be aſſured of his Reſpect for his Majeſty's Commands. Then he paſſed a Grant of certain commercial Privileges, together with the Payment of a Debt, in all which Demands he was aſſured he ſhould be ſatisfied; and the *Mogul* deſiring to know what were the fitteſt Preſents for his Brother the King of *England*, the Ambaſſador anſwer'd, Carpets; on which he promiſed the moſt

Magnificent that could be bought. He afterwards preſented Sir *Thomas* with half a Buck, which he had killed himſelf, and the reſt was cut into four-pound Pieces, intended for his Majeſty's Women, two of whom accordingly came from the Seraglio, and each carried a Piece away dangling in her Hand.

Before his Excellency was diſmiſſed from his Audience, the *Mogul* entreated him to procure him a Bow and Quiver, a Pair of rich embroidered Buſkins, and a Coat of Mail for himſelf, all done by the moſt experienced Workmen that *England* could boaſt, beſides a Pillow whereon to ſleep; and *Aſaph Chan.* was ordered to give Patterns of what was wanted.

March 3d, they arrived at the City of *Mandoa*; but the *Mogul* did not make his Entry till the 6th, at a particular Hour, ſaid, by the Aſtrologers, to be a lucky one. The Place choſen by Sir *Thomas*'s Servants to encamp in, was a Houſe on the Top of a riſing Ground, in a good Air, well incloſed within Stone Walls, where were alſo a Temple and a Tomb. There were two Inconveniencies in the Situation; one was, its great Diſtance from the Royal Quarters, which were two Miles off; and the other, a total Want of Water: However, a *Chan*, who had taken Poſſeſſion of a Well not far from it for his own Uſe, allowed his Excellency to draw away four Loads of Water *per* Day. Water was very ſcarce all about; the great Men had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Springs, which were very few; ſo that thoſe who had not great Intereſt, were obliged to encamp in the open Country, at three or four Leagues Diſtance, a Circumſtance which cauſed much Confuſion, but fell heavily on the Poor.

On the 12th, it being the Feſtival of the *Noroſe*, or New Year, Sir *Thomas* preſented the *Mogul* with two Knives, and ſix curious Glaſſes, in the Name of the Company, with which he ſeemed extremely pleaſed; and at the ſame Time order'd, that whatever Debts were owing to the Governor, ſhould be immediately paid.

Over the Throne, hung the Portraits of King *James* I. and the Queen of *England*, the Counteſs of *Somerſet* and *Saliſbury*, of Sir *Thomas Smith*, Governor of the *Eaſt-India* Company and of the Wife of a private Citizen of *London*. When Sir *Thomas* approached, he ordered him to aſcend the Steps, and come near; on his Right-hand ſtood the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, and on the Left the King of *Candalar*; near it was a Scaffold, whereon ſome Female Muſicians exerciſed their Talents. The 30th, his Excellency preſented to *Aſaph Chan*, a curious Pair of Gloves and a Night-cap; the latter he kept, and deſired a little *Spaniſh* Wine, but returned the Gloves, as of no Uſe in that Country.

Sir *Thomas* found it a hard Taſk, about this Time to remove ſome Prejudices which the *Mogul* had harbour'd againſt the *Engliſh*; but with much Labour prevailed. At the ſame Time the great Men looked on his Excellency with an evil Eye, on Account of his having complained of the Injuſtice of Sultan *Corone*, each looking upon him as an Informer, and fearing his Turn might be next; for their Governments being all Farms, the Extortions practiced by thoſe that hold them, are inconceivable.

The 30th of *April*, the *Perſian* Ambaſſador left the Court in a Mood of Diſcontent; and he had Reaſon; becauſe, having preſented his Majeſty with thirty fine Horſes, he received, in Return, 3000 Crowns; which he juſtly reſented, as ſeeming to ſet him on the Foot of a Dealer, and even in that Light, allowing him much leſs than the Value of his Commodities. His Diſſatisfaction was told to the *Mogul*, who immediately order'd an Account to be drawn out, by Way of Debtor and Creditor, on one Side of which were named the *Perſian* Gifts, rated infinitely below their intrinſic Worth, on the other, thoſe Preſents the *Mogul* had made in Return, not omitting the ſlighteſt Thing, ſuch as a Melon or a Pine-apple, all valued very highly: This, by Order of the Court, was laid before the Ambaſſador, and an Offer of the Ballance, which was on his Side, tender'd to him. Impatient of the Indignity, and ſpurning the Account, he feigned himſelf very ill, that he might not be at the Trouble of taking Leave of a Court where his Reception had been ſo bad, and obtained Permiſſion to depart without Ceremony. He privately ſent a true State of his Affairs to Sir *Thomas Rowe*, by Way of Excuſe for not taking Leave of him, which he could not do without being ſeen by *Aſaph Chan*, and others who expected the ſame Compliment; and deſired the Meſſenger to aſſure him, he might depend on doing the beſt Offices he could for the *Engliſh* at his Maſter's Court.

On the 12th of *May*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador obtained a Grant, authorizing him to hunt a Lion, which, together with a Wolf, had broken into his Fold and killed ſome of his Sheep; he durſt not attempt to repel this Invaſion, without the Royal Permiſſion; for it is Treaſon for any Man, except the Sovereign, to hunt the Lion in this Country.

June 14th, a Box of Medicines, with a Letter, belonging to the Jeſuits at *Cambay*, which had been ſtopped upon the Road, was brought to Court, and the *Mogul* himſelf, after having curiouſly and meanly ordered the Letter to be read, and examined the Box, in which he found nothing for his Purpoſe, commanded them to be reſtored to the Fathers.

The 21ſt of *Auguſt*, *Marre Ruſtan*, King of *Candalar*, viſited Sir *Thomas Rowe*; and though he was handſomely entertained, begged a Caſk of Wine before his Departure, which was ſent to him.

On the 1ſt of *September*, being the *Mogul's* Birthday, there was a Pavilion erected in a very elegant Garden, not far from a Square Pond, ſet round with Trees; under the Pavilion was fixed a large Pair of Scales of beaten Gold, with Silken Ropes and Gold Chains, curiouſly ſet with ſmall Rubies and Torquoiſes; in one Scale the *Mogul* himſelf was ſeated croſs-legged, cover'd from Head to Foot with Jewels, and had about him ſome Rubies as big as Walnuts, and Pearls ſtill larger; in the oppoſite Scale, were ſix different Bales weighed againſt him, which were ſaid to contain Gold, Silks, Calicoes, Spices, and other rich Commodities; and, laſtly, he was oppoſed to Honey, Corn, and Butter; the former of theſe, it was ſaid, were to be diſtributed among the Poor, and the latter to be given for Proviſion to the *Banians*.

While his Majeſty was in the Scale, he looked pleaſantly on Sir *Thomas Rowe*, and ſeemed as if he intended to have ſpoken to him, but was prevented by the Want of an Interpreter: It was ſaid, he weighed, that Day, equal to 9000 Roupies.

When this Ceremony was over, he mounted his Throne, round which ſat the Nobility on Carpets, and threw, as before, ſeveral Baſons of Silver Nuts, Almonds, and other artificial Fruit among them, for which they ſcrambled heartily; and he, perceiving the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who thought it beneath him to ſtoop to imitate them, poured a Baſon of Silver Almonds into his Cloak; which he had no ſooner done, than the Courtiers fell upon his Excellency, and almoſt tore his Cloak off his Back, endeavouring to ſhare with him in their Maſter's Gift; however, he made a Shift to preſerve as many of them as weighed ten or twelve Crowns; they were all hollow, and ſo extremely light, that a vaſt Number of them muſt go to making up the Value of 100*l.* The *Mogul* dedicated that Night to carouſing and drinking with his Nobles, to which his Excellency was invited; but he declined it, being ill of a Flux, and knowing, that if he went, nothing would excuſe his drinking.

September 9th, the *Mogul* riding along the Banks of the *Darbadat* to take the Air, in his Way, paſſed by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Houſe, who preſented him with an Atlas neatly bound, telling him, that he made his Majeſty an Offering of a Sketch of all that World of which he poſſeſſed ſo conſiderable a Part. The *Mogul* received it very kindly, and thanked him by laying his Hand on his Breaſt, as well as by Words; and deſired to know whether his Excellency loved the fat wild Boar of *Goa*, of which he would ſend him ſome, having lately received ſeveral. The Ambaſſador replied, that any Thing with which he pleaſed to honour him muſt be agreeable. Then the *Mogul* mounted his Elephant, and having reconnoitred his Excellency's Quarters, with which he ſeemed pleaſed, he took his Leave; nor would he permit him to follow in his Train, the Road not being good; but inſiſted on his not ſtirring from Home.

The 16th, his Excellency went to viſit the King of *Candabar*, who refuſed to receive him without Leave from *Aſaph Chan*, or *Etymon Doulet*, which he ſent Word he would ſolicit at the Durbar; but the Ambaſſador replied, he might ſpare himſelf the Trouble, for he would never attempt to incommode him again.

It is the Cuſtom for the *Perſian* Merchants, as ſoon as they arrive in his Territories, to ſubmit the Refuſal of their Commodities to the *Mogul*, who having taken what he likes, diſtributes the reſt among his People; an Account is then made out of what each Man chuſes, and an Officer appointed for that Purpoſe annexes a Price; a Copy of this Diſpoſal is given to the Merchant, who calls at the Houſes of his Debtors, for their reſpective Monies; if he is delayed, a certain Perſon is ſent with an Authority to oblige him to pay it. The *Engliſh* Traders not having acted according to this Cuſtom, found it pretty difficult to recover the Debts contracted with them by ſeveral Perſons; however, the *Mogul* was prevailed upon, by the Addreſs of Sir *Thomas Rowe*, to pardon his firſt Omiſſion which had its Foundation in Ignorance, and not in Diſreſpect, and to exert his Authority in Behalf of the Company, to oblige thoſe who owed them any Thing immediately to diſcharge the Demand; but he made an Agreement with Sir *Thomas*, that for the future he ſhould have the firſt View of the Inventory of every *Engliſh* Ship's Lading that came into his Dominions; promiſing, in that Caſe, to ſee them paid for every Thing that was ſold; and to pay the Deficiency out of his own Pocket, provided an Inſolvent contract a Debt with them.

A Liſt of the Names of the Perſons indebted to the Company, and the Manner of contracting ſuch Debts, was now read over to the *Mogul* by *Aſaph Chan*; after which Orders were given to *Aradel Chan*, the Lord Steward of the Houſhold, to the *Cutwal*, or Marſhal, to take ſuch Meaſures as ſhould procure theſe People immediate Satisfaction. But this Order being neglected, Sir *Thomas* had prepared a petitionary Complaint concerning it; which, at an Audience a few Days after, he was about to deliver to the *Mogul*, who would have made them repent it; but his Drift being perceived by *Aſapb Chan*, he went up to him before he had compleated it, begging him to deſiſt, and aſſuring him that he ſhould have Juſtice done before the next Morning. In Purſuance of which Promiſe, the *Cutwal*, and *Aradel Chan*, that very Evening, went in Search of ſeveral of the Company's Debtors, and Satisfaction was ſoon after obtained from all ſuch as could be found.

On the ſecond of *October*, Prince *Corone* came to Court, attended by a ſplendid Train of Noblemen, and wss received by his Father with as much Tenderneſs as if he had been an only Son. All the great Men who attended the *Mogul*, except Sir *Thomas Rowe*, whoſe Health would not permit it, went out to meet him on the Road.

On the 6th, his Excellency went to viſit the Prince, but was told he muſt either come in the Beginning of the Morning, or ſtay at the Door till he came forth from the Court; which Intimation Sir *Thomas* taking as an Affront, expreſſed his Indignation to the Meſſenger, and departed. In the Evening he had an Audience of the *Mogul*, who received him with his uſual Kindneſs; but the Prince, diſſembling as if he did not ſee him, made no Return to a Bow of his Excellency. His Majeſty aſked for the Inventory of ſuch Goods as were brought by the Company's Ship, deſiring him alſo to name what Privileges he expected for them, and aſſuring him of every Indulgence.

At the ſame Time he obſerved, the Queen-Mother was obliged to them for having reſcued from two *Engliſh* Pirates in the Red-Sea, a Ship belonging to her; the Crews and Paſſengers of which Ship were loud in the Praiſes of the kind Uſage and hoſpitable Behaviour of their Preſervers: However, his Majeſty appeared ſurprized, that Subjects of *England* ſhould chuſe thus openly to injure and diſobey their King; but was ſatisfied with being told, they were Outlaws, liable to Puniſhment as much as thoſe daily executed in his Majeſty's Dominions for Robbery.

His Majeſty then enquired whether the Ships had brought any Pearls or Jewels, but was anſwered in the Negative, they being much dearer in *England* than at *Indoſtan*. At this Audience the Ambaſſador made a firm Friend of *Aſaph Chan*, by whiſpering him that he had ſomething very curious for him; of which Promiſe before his Departure, that Miniſter took Care to remind him; but before his Excellency would intruſt him with the Knowledge of what it was, he inſiſted on their ſqueezing Thumbs, a Way of ſolemnly ſwearing in this Country, and promiſing not to betray him. This Ceremony being over, his Excellency told him, he had a Pearl of immenſe Value to diſpoſe of, and to ſecure his Friendſhip, he had intended it for him; but at the ſame Time took Notice, that he knew of what ill Conſequence it would be, if his Majeſty came to know there was any ſuch Thing of which he had not received Intelligence, either by Inventory or Information. *Aſaph Chan* expreſſed vaſt Thanks for the Favour, repeated his Aſſurances of Secreſy, and promiſed to give as much for it as any Body, as well as to introduce Sir *Thomas* to the Prince; and not only make them Friends, but alſo ſaid he would himſelf defend him from any Oppreſſion the Court, or any Courtiers, might attempt to practice on his Excellency, or his Dependants: For he obſerved, that the *Mogul* himſelf was naturally inſolent and treacherous, more eſpecially to Strangers, being bound by no Ties but thoſe of Intereſt. He adviſed him alſo to ſecure the Queen *Normahal*'s Intereſt by a Preſent.

Aſaph Chan was neceſſitated to keep his Promiſe for Fear of being betrayed to his Sovereign, an Event which, tho' in a Matter ſo trifling, might have proved of very bad Conſequence to him; and indeed he kept his Word very punctually, for he not only procured an Order that the Goods of the *Engliſh* Company, deſigned for the Ambaſſador, ſhould come to Court without being ſearched or detained, but alſo uſed his Intereſt to have a particular Judge appointed to inſpect and ſettle the Company's Affairs; beſides, he himſelf took off many Commodities by Wholeſale, which muſt otherwiſe have been diſpoſed of by Retale; in ſhort, this trifling Preference ſecured his Friendſhip, immoveably. It is certain, that at the *Mogul*'s Court, giving the Refuſal of a Bargain is equal to a Preſent; and *Aſaph Chan* was very exact and immediate in his Payments.

Thro' the Means of this Miniſter, on the 12th Sir *Thomas* had an Audience of the Prince, by whom he was well received, having preſented him with a gold Chain, the Workmanſhip of *China*, on a Saucer of the ſame Country; and his Highneſs not only promiſed for the future to ſtand by the *Engliſh*, but granted a Letter to the Deputy Governor of *Surat*, commanding him to uſe them reſpectfully, and to give them all ſuch other Indulgencies as his Excellency required. Nay, the Queen, wrought thereto by her Brother *Aſaph Chan*, ſent the Ambaſſador Aſſurance of her Protection, and an Order in Favour of the Company, which ſhe had alſo obtained from the Prince, leſt he ſhould have forgot what he promiſed perſonally to do, being of a very haſty and forgetful Temper.

By this his Highneſs ſecured them intirely from Harm; for they were now, as it were, belonging to the Queen, who ſent a Perſon immediately to aſſiſt the Company's Servants in all reaſonable Matters, with her Name and Authority; along with whom *Aſaph Chan* diſpatched a truſty Servant of his own, by Way of Second, and to purchaſe what he wanted of *Engliſh* Goods.

In Conſequence of this courtly Favour, all the Nobility ſent Perſons on Board purpoſely to buy; ſo that without any Loſs or Delay by Seizures, Duties, or Carriages, the Ships ſold their Cargoes before Landing, and could have ſold three Times as much more.

On the 24th, the *Mogul* removed from *Mandoa*, and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador followed him on the 29th, not without great Inconveniencies, as well for Want of Carriages, as the Scarcity of Water, and Dearneſs of Proviſions. On the 2d of *November*, two Perſons of the Name of *Steel* and *Jackſon*, came aſhore privately, with ſome Pearls and other odd Matters by his Excellency's Order, which were ſhewn to *Aſaph Chan*, who was well pleaſed with the firſt Sight of them, tho' they were not ſuch as he wanted; neither, indeed, fit for the Market of *Indoſtan*.

On the 10th of *November*, Sir *Thomas* laboured hard to invalidate a Report of the *Engliſh* Company's Ships having large Quantities of Brick and Lime on Board, in order to erect a Fort without the *Mogul*'s Leave. A few Nights after, the Prince ſpoke ſlightly of the *Engliſh* Traffick, and was hotly oppoſed by *Aſaph Chan*, who, while he enhanced the Advantages which accrued from them to the *Mogul*'s Dominions, accuſed the Prince's Officers of having behaved to the Company with Inſolence and Injuſtice, an Impeachment which irritated the *Mogul* very much againſt the Prince, and cauſed almoſt an irreparable Breach between this laſt and *Aſaph Chan*: In Conſequence of it however, the Cuſtom-houſe Officers received a very ſtrict Charge, to behave reſpectfully for the future; and Sir *Thomas* courageouſly declared, that if, after theſe public Marks of Protection from the Royal Fountain of Authority, any Violence or Force ſhould be offered to the Company's People, he would order it to be repelled by Force, tho' it ſhould coſt the Effuſion of ſome Blood.

Some *Dutch* Envoys appeared at the Court the 30th of *January*, with ſeveral *Chineſe* Rarities, by Way of Preſents; they did not ſeem to be known; for the Prince aſked the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador who they were? and on his anſwering that they were a Nation under the Protection of the *Engliſh*, but not held in the higheſt Eſteem, he replied, as Friends to the *Engliſh* they ſhould be welcome. Whereupon Sir *Thomas*, being deſired, forwarded their Preſents, for they were not allowed to come within the Rails, but to keep without Side the third Aſcent, near ſome *Engliſh* Merchants, who did not interchange any Diſcourſe with them.

Here concludes all that is extant of Sir *Thomas Rowe*'s Papers, the Remainder being loſt. At the Time of Sir *Thomas*'s Departure for *England*, the *Mogul* entruſted him with a Letter to King *James* I. Its Addreſs being very particular, we have tranſcribed it.

To a King rightly deſcended from his Anceſtors, ſkilled in martial Affairs, and cloathed with Honour and Juſtice; a Commander deſerving all Command; of Strength and Perſeverance in the Religion taught by the great Prophet Jeſus Chriſt; *King* James, *whoſe Love hath made an Impreſſion upon my Thoughts never to be wiped out; but as the Smell of Amber, or as a Garden ſtocked with fragrant Flowers, whoſe Beauty and Odours are in a continual Increaſe; ſo ſhall my Love improve and increaſe with yours,* &c.

This Letter contained Aſſurances of his Friendſhip to the Subjects of *England*, and of his Inclination to protect the Merchants of that Kingdom: But when it was finiſhed, the *Mogul* was vaſtly at a Loſs where to affix the Seal, ſo as neither to diſparage himſelf, or give Occaſion of Offence to the Monarch whom he addreſſed. Had he ſealed it at the Bottom, he imagin'd, it would have been demeaning himſelf; had he ſealed it on the Top, he was afraid it might be interpreted into Diſreſpect of King *James*. Theſe Conſiderations determin'd the *Mogul* to deliver the Letter open to the Ambaſſador, and to give him the Seal, which was of Silver, having his Genealogy from *Tamerlane*, he being the ninth Deſcendant, engraven on it; deſiring him to deliver it to his Sovereign, who might affix the Seal to what Part of the Letter he pleaſed.

Thus have we ſeen the Beginning and Progreſs of our Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, for fifteen Years ſucceſſively, that is, from the Year 1600, when Sir *James Lancaſter* made his firſt Voyage for the Merchant-Adventurers; what immenſe Toils, Difficulties, and Dangers were encounter'd before it could be put upon a tolerable Footing; and at length the full Eſtabliſhment of it by ſpecial Licence from the *Great Mogul* himſelf. We have not interrupted the Account of theſe Eaſtern Voyages, with Narratives of others which happened within the ſame Compaſs of Time; becauſe the Reader might have one continued and ſucceſſive Relation of all ſuch Facts and Tranſactions that concern this important Trade, from its Infancy till ripen'd into Maturity, in one diſtinct View. We muſt now take our Leave of it for the Preſent, in order to relate other Voyages and Adventures that occurr'd in the mean Time.

Captain GOSNOLL's *Voyage to the North Part of* Virginia.

THE ſeveral croſs Accidents that attended the firſt Attempts to ſettle a Colony in *Virginia*, ſo diſcouraged the Adventurers, that they gave over all further Thoughts about it, to the great Vexation of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had been at vaſt Pains and Expence in bringing it to bear. (*See* Vol. I. p. 137.) And in this neglected State it lay till the Year 1602, when Captain *Goſnoll* undertook a Voyage to the Northern Parts of this Country; where finding a Proſpect of Things to his Liking, he did not trouble himſelf to make any Diſcoveries in the Southern. They went a long the Coaſt a conſiderable Way, ſeeing many pleaſant Iſlands, but for the moſt Part uninhabited, and yet by their Fruitfulneſs capable of maintaining a great Number of People. The firſt Savages they met with, after Signs of Peace made on both Sides, and a long Speech of their Commander (which the *Engliſh* underſtood nothing of) came boldly on Board their Ship. The Commander himſelf was dreſſed with

Waiſtcoat, Breeches, Hat, Stockings and Shoes, and all the Accoutrements of an *European*; but all the reſt had only Deer-ſkins about their Shoulders, and Seal-ſkins tied about their Middles. They were painted, though their natural ſwarthy Colour was eaſily diſcerned; their Hair very long, and tied up in a Knot behind. They had certainly conver'd with ſome *Europeans*, as appear'd by ſeveral of their Words, and would have had the Company of the *Engliſh* longer. The next were more finely deck'd than the former, having all of them Copper Pendants in their Ears; but one had a Breaſt-plate of the ſame Metal a Foot long, and half broad; and another had his Head all ſtuck with Feathers, that render'd him a very frightful Figure. They brought little Trifles to barter, but were a ſhy, ſly, thieviſh Sort of People. It was in the Latitude of little more than 42 Deg. North, that they firſt came upon the *Virginian* Shore; and it was in the Lat. 41 Deg. 10 Min. that the Captain fixed his Reſidence. It was in an Iſland which he called *Elizabeth Iſland*, that lies four Leagues from the Main, a ſmall unpeopled Spot, and over-run with Trees, but fertile and pleaſant enough to engage Inhabitants. On the North-weſt Side is a Lake of freſh Water almoſt a League in Circuit, and very near the Sea; in the Midſt of which, is another little Iſland about an Acre in Compaſs, and this they thought the moſt convenient Place for the building of a Fort, and therefore began it here. About this Lake was an infinite Number of Tortoiſes, ſeveral Sorts of Fowl, and likewiſe Fiſh; which gave a Proſpect of Proviſions enough, to thoſe who ſhould live here.

The moſt remarkable of all the Trees of this Iſland, were the Saſſafras, and the Cherry-trees, as they call them. The former are well known for

for their Uſe in Phyſic; and the latter have this extraordinary in them, that together with the Leaf, Bark, and Bigneſs, not different from ours in *England*, the Fruit grows at the End of the Stalk 40 or 50 in a Cluſter. The Vines were alſo very numerous, and the more common Garden and wild Fruits in great Abundance. The Animals, both Terreſtrial and Aquatic, are ſuch as are common every where in theſe Parts, and in great Plenty. The Minerals were Copper, Emery Stones, Alabaſter, with others of a blue metalline Colour, which they did not know what to make of; ſome ſaid it was Steel Ore, but they ought to have conſidered, that tho' Gold Mines are very ſcarce, yet Steel Mines are much ſcarcer, and are never found but where a Braſs Mine lies either at Top or Bottom. There is alſo Stone for all Sorts of Building, and an Earth which they ſuſpect may prove of the ſame Nature with the *Terra Sigillata*.

The Iſland affords alſo Materials for Dying, and for Smoaking; and no Place yields finer Tobacco than this. The main Land adjoining, which they viſited alſo, was in all Reſpects as charming, as curious Meadows, Groves, Brooks, and Rivers could make it. They had ſome Communication with the *Indians* of the main Land, who came and barter'd with them for ſome of their *European* Rarities; and there was nothing hardly but was ſo to thoſe People. The Commodities they gave in Exchange for Knives, and other Toys, were Beavers, Lucerns, Martens, Otters, Foxes, Conies, Seals, and Deer-Skins. They were all deck'd with Chains, Collars, Ear-rings, and Bracelets of Copper; their Complexions olive-coloured, their Stature much bigger than the *Engliſh*, their Hair very black and long, tied up behind in Knots, in which they ſtick Feathers, and make them look like Coronets.

Thoſe to whom Nature has denied good Beards, borrow the Hair of other Animals to make falſe Beards, and ſo ſupply that Defect.

One of the *Engliſh* Sailors having a Carrot-coloured Beard, one of the Savages thought it was not natural, becauſe not of the Colour of the Hair of his Head, and having a great Mind to one of that Colour, he offer'd the Sailor to change Beards with him, pretending to give a very good one of his own making for that Bunch of Carrots which grew upon the other's Face; but the *Engliſhman* did not chuſe to have the Hair of a Bear or a Wild-cat perhaps, planted on his Cheeks, and therefore told the *Indian* he would make no ſuch Bargain with him.

Theſe People (the Women eſpecially, to whom the Men are wonderfully obſervant) are commended by them as ſome of the handſomeſt of *America*, and very gentle and courteous, not very fearful of Harms from others, becauſe not ſeeming to deſign any themſelves; but we doubt this good Character will not agree to all the *Virginians*. They ſtrike Fire with a flat Piece of Emery-ſtone and a Sort of Mineral, which they can't tell us the Name of, but have a Piece of dry Touch-wood ready, which receives the Spark they knock out between the other two.

The Affairs of the Plantation might have gone on very well, had all the Planters been unanimous and eaſy in their Settlement here, but they were intent upon their private Intereſts, and contrived only to make a profitable Voyage. The Captain labour'd againſt it, but to no Purpoſe; ſo having got good Store of Saſſafras, Cedar-wood, Furs, and other good Commodities, they ſet Sail for *England*, leaving their little Fort, which ten Men, in about nineteen Days, had made fit to harbour a conſiderable Number, together with their Proviſions.

Sir RICHARD LEVISON *and Sir* WILLIAM MONSON, *their Expedition to the Narrow Seas,* 1603. *Copied from Sir* WILLIAM's *Tracts.*

The Ships and Commanders, nominated for the Expedition, were,

The *Repulſe*, —— Sir *Richard Leviſon.*
Mary Honora, — Sir *William Monſon.*
Defiance, —— Capt. *Gore.*
Warſpright, — Capt. *Seymour.*
Rainbow, —— Capt. *Trevor.*
Dreadnought, — Capt. *Reynolds.*
Quittance, —— Capt. *Howard.*
Lion's-Whelp, — Capt. *Polewheele.*

The ſmaller Ships are not named.

SIR *William Monſon* returning with his Fleet in *November*, there was a Reſolution to furniſh another againſt *February*, which ſhould be ſupplied with Ships, Men, and Victuals in *January*; Sir *Richard Leviſon* to command the former Fleet, and Sir *William Monſon* the latter: For the Queen (who was yet living, when this Diſpoſition was made) held it both ſecure and a profitable Courſe, to keep a continual Force upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, from *February* to *November*, at Time of greateſt

Peril to her Majeſty. She was the rather encouraged thereto, by the Safety ſhe found the laſt Summer, and the Wealth ſhe enjoy'd of her Enemy's. The Complaint of the ill furniſhing her Ships in other Voyages, made it more carefully be look'd unto now, and there was better Choice of Victuals and Men, than uſually had been. But, in the mean Time, it pleaſed God to viſit her Majeſty with Sickneſs, which made a lingring, tho' no abſolute Stay or diſſolving of the Fleet: And as her Danger was perceived to increaſe, the Ships were haſten'd to Sea, holding it a Point of Policy of State, to keep our Seas guarded, for Fear of any foreign Attempt, until his Majeſty ſhould be peaceably ſeated in *England*.

This Fleet departed from *Queenborough* the 22d of *March*, and arrived at the *Downs* the 25th of the ſame, being the Day after her Majeſty's Death.

The News hereof, and the Command to proclaim King *James*, the VIth, of *Scotland*, our lawful right Inheritor to the Crown, arrived both together, which put us unto two contrary Paſſions; the one of Grief, the other of Joy: Grief, by the Loſs of the Queen; and Joy, in accepting the King, and in that peaceable Manner, that it made a Happineſs to all Men, againſt Expectation, either at home or abroad.

As the Part and Office of this Fleet was, to guard and defend the Coaſts from any Incurſion that ſhould be made out of *France* or the Low Countries, ſo the Commanders were as vigilant to appear upon the Coaſts, once in two Days, to diſhearten them, if they had any ſuch Thought: But it was far from their Abilities, whatſoever was in their Hearts, to put a Stop to his Majeſty's Proceedings; and becauſe the Archduke would make it appear more evidently to the World, he called in his Letters of Repriſal againſt the *Engliſh*, and publiſhed an Edict of free and lawful Traffic into *Flanders*, ſo that then our Merchants might trade peaceably into thoſe Parts, from which they had been debarred during the Continuance of eighteen Years Wars.

The King finding that *France* neither called his Right in Queſtion, nor gave any Jealouſy, by the raiſing of an Army, and that the Archduke made a Demonſtration of his Deſire of Peace, his Majeſty did the like, acknowledging his League with thoſe Princes, with whom the late Queen had Wars; for Wars betwixt Countries are not hereditary; but commonly end with the Deaths of their Kings: Wherefore he commanded his Ships to give over their Southern Employment, and repair unto *Chatham*, giving manifeſt Teſtimonies that his Subjects ſhould recover that Wealth and Freedom by Peace, which they had formerly loſt by Wars.

Captain MARTIN PRING'S *Voyage to the North of* Virginia.

THIS Year, 1603, ſeveral Merchants of *Briſtol* reſolved upon a Voyage for a farther Diſcovery of the North Part of *Virginia*. To this End, having obtained a Letter of Licence from Sir *Walter Raleigh* (by Virtue of his Patent from the late Queen) they raiſed a Stock of about 1000*l.* and fitted out a Ship called the *Speedwell*, of about 50 Tons, commanded by Captain *Martin Pring*, with about 30 Officers, Men and Boys, under him; and a Bark called the *Diſcoverer*, commanded by

Mr. *William Brown*, with a Mate, and eleven Men and Boys. They were victualled for eight Months, and laden with all Sorts of Apparel, Tools, and Bawbles, proper to trade with the Savages of the Countries whither they were going; and all was entruſted to the Direction and Management of Mr. *Robert Saltern*, as chief Agent.

They ſet Sail from *Milford Haven* the 10th of *April*, and paſſing by the *Azores*, they fell in with a Multitude of ſmall Iſlands on the North Coaſt of *Virginia*, in the Latitude of 43 Deg. in the Month of *June*. They took a narrow View of theſe Iſlands, as likewiſe of all the Continent oppoſite to them, and all the Inlets into it; but finding no Inhabitants, nor, what they wanted more, no Saſſafras, they directed their Courſe towards *Savage Rock*, diſcovered the Year before by Captain *Goſnoll*. Here they ſaw ſome Inhabitants on the Main, but no Saſſafras; and therefore, departing from thence, they bore into the great Gulph which Captain *Goſnoll* had over-ſhot the Year before. They found People firſt on the North, and then on the South Side of the Gulph, in about 41 Deg. and had ſome Intercourſe with them, particularly at a Place where they purpoſed to take in their Lading, to which they gave the Name of *Whitſon-Bay*.

By the End of *July*, they had loaded their Bark with Saſſafras, and diſpatched her Home; and in about fourteen Days after, having loaded their Ship to their Satisfaction, they departed for *England*, and arrived at *Kingrode* the 2d of *Octover*. Among ſeveral Curioſities they brought back with them, the moſt remarkable was, one of the Boats uſed by the Inhabitants, made of the Bark of a Birch-tree, ſewed together with Twigs, and the Seams covered with Roſin or Turpentine, which, though it was

17 Feet long, four broad, and capable of carrying nine Perſons, did not weigh ſixty Pounds.

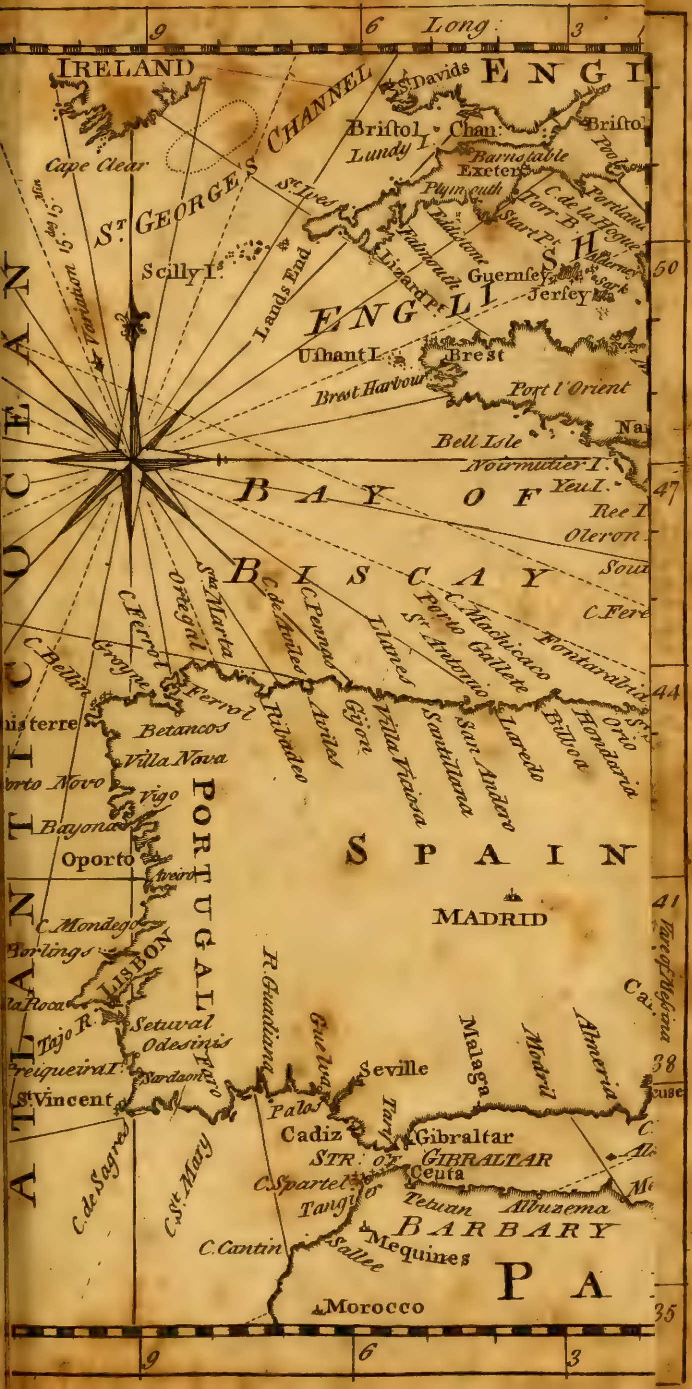
Captain GILBERT's *Voyage to* Virginia.

THIS Voyage was performed, the ſame Year, by the *Elizabeth*, a Bark of 50 Tons, commanded by Captain *Bartholomew Gilbert*, who had been the Year before in *Virginia*, with Captain *Goſnoll*.

They departed from *Plymouth*, the 10th of *May*, and in their Paſſage traded at *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, and *Mevis*, at the latter of which they cut about 20 Tons of *Lignum Vitæ*. The 3d of *July*, they ſet Sail from thence for the Coaſt of *Virginia*, and particularly for *Cheſepiak-Bay*, which Captain *Gilbert* was very deſirous of falling with, that he might make ſome Enquiry after the People Sir *Walter Raleigh* had left near thoſe Parts, in 1587. The 25th, they came very near the Mouth of that Bay; but the Wind blowing hard with a high Sea, tho' they beat about for two or three Days, they could not make it, and were obliged to bear more to the Eaſtward.

The 29th, not being far from the Shore, the Captain with four of his beſt Men landed with their Boat, and, being provided with Arms, marched ſome Way up the Country; but being ſet upon and over-powered by the Inhabitants, were all killed, and it was not without Difficulty, that the Boat, with two young Men who were left in her, reached the Ship again.

Being thus reduc'd to eleven Men and Boys, they were afraid to venture the Loſs of any more of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6
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3
IRELAND
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Bristol Chan:
Lundy I.
Pool
Barnstable
Exeter
Plymouth
Portland
C. de la Hogue
Torr B.
Start Pt.
Cape Clear
St. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
St. Ives
Variation 15 deg 15 Min
Scilly Is.
Lands End
Eddistone
Falmouth
Lizard Pt.
Guernsey
Alderney
Sark
Jersey
ENGLISH
50
Ushant I.
Brest
Brest Harbour
Port l'Orient
Bell Isle
Na
Noirmutier I.
Yeu I.
47
BAY OF BISCAY
Ree I.
Oleron
Sou
C. Fere
ATLANTIC OCEAN
C. Ferrol
Ortegal
Sta. Marta
C. de Aviles
C. Pennas
Llanes
Porto St. Antonio
C. Machicaco
Gallete
Fontarabia
C. Bellin
Groyne
Ferrol
Ribadeo
Aviles
Gijon
Villa Viciosa
Santillana
San Andero
Laredo
Bilboa
Hondaria
Orio
44
Finisterre
Betancos
Villa Nova
Porto Novo
Vigo
Bayona
Oporto
Aveiro
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
MADRID
41
C. Mondego
Borlings
LISBON
Rocca
Tajo R.
Setuval
Odesinis
Preiqueira I.
Sardaon
Faro
St. Vincent
R. Guadiana
Guelva
Seville
Malaga
Motril
Almeria
Ca.
Fare of Messina
38
cuse
Palos
Cadiz
Tary
Gibraltar
STR. OF GIBRALTAR
Ceuta
C. Spartel
Tangier
Tetuan
Albuzema
C. de Sagres
C. St. Mary
BARBARY
C. Cantin
Sallee
Mequines
PA
Morocco
35
9
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3

17 Feet long, four broad, and capable of carrying nine Perſons, did not weigh ſixty Pounds.

Captain GILBERT's *Voyage to* Virginia.

THIS Voyage was performed, the ſame Year, by the *Elizabeth*, a Bark of 50 Tons, commanded by Captain *Bartholomew Gilbert*, who had been the Year before in *Virginia*, with Captain *Goſnoll*.

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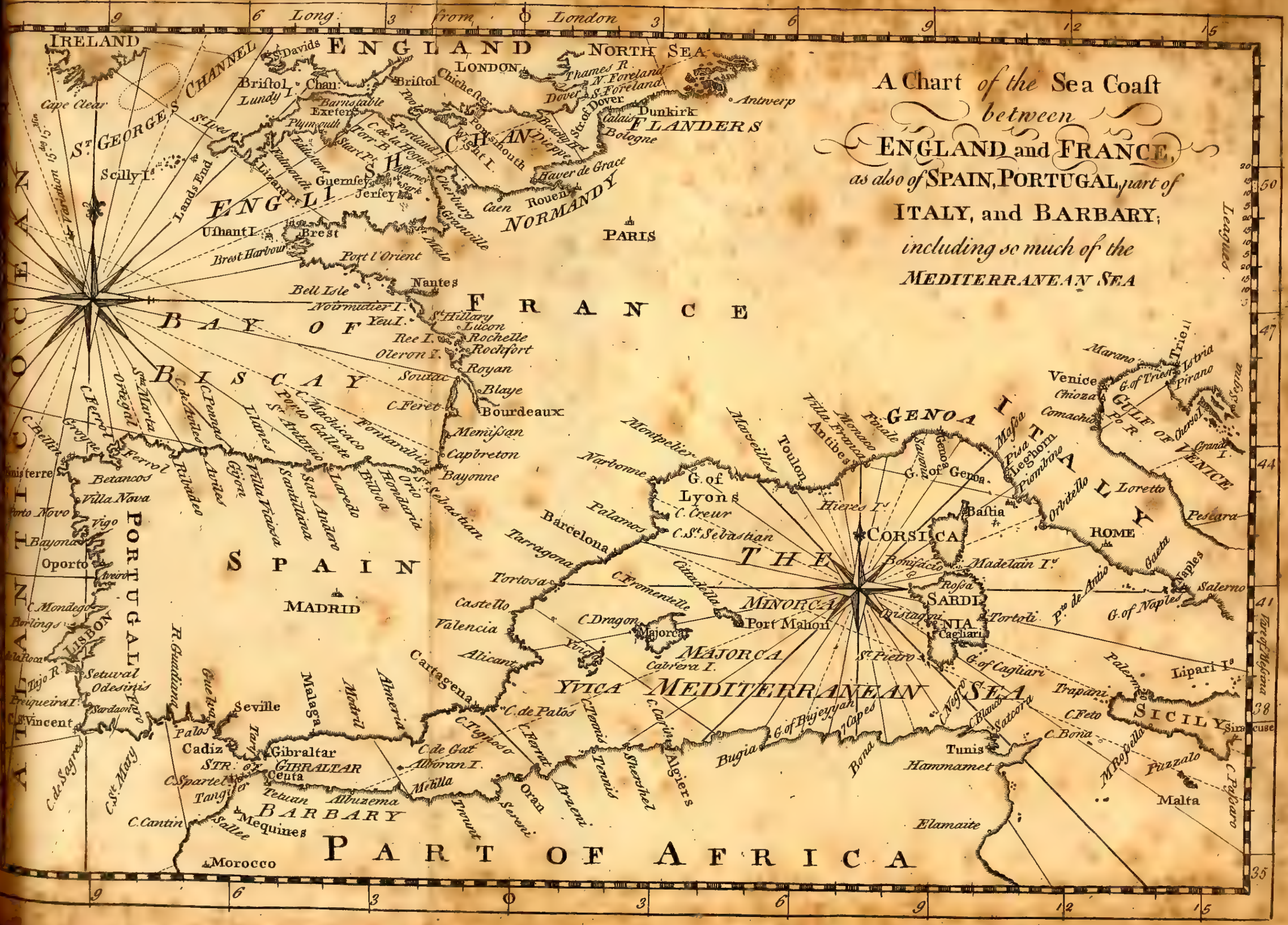
A Chart of the Sea Coaſt between ENGLAND and FRANCE, as also of SPAIN, PORTUGAL, part of ITALY, and BARBARY; including so much of the MEDITERRANEAN SEA

of their ſmall Company, and their Proviſions growing ſhort, the Maſter, *Henry Sute*, who had taken the Command, reſolved, tho' they were in extreme Want of Wood and Water, to return homewards, which they did, and arrived in the *Thames* about the End of *September*.

Captain GEORGE WEYMOUTH'S *Voyage to* Virginia.

THE Way to *Virginia* began now to be pretty well known, and the Commerce to thoſe Parts in ſome Meaſure advanced, when the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, fitted out a Ship called the *Archangel*, for a trading Voyage thither, under the Command of Capt. *George Weymouth*.

She departed from *Dartmouth* the 31ſt of *March*, 1605, and had a proſperous Voyage till ſhe came towards the deſired Coaſts. Their Deſign was to fall in with the Land about the Latitude of 39 Deg. but the Winds putting them a little farther Northward, they came into about 41½ Deg. where, their Wood and Water beginning to grow ſhort, they much wiſhed for Sight of Land. By their Charts they had Reaſon to expect it, and therefore bore directly in with it, according to their Preſcriptions; yet they found none in almoſt 50 Leagues running. After much Expectation, on the 16th of *May*, they got Sight of an Iſland of no great Compaſs, and very woody along the Shore; but by the Fruits which appeared, no barren or deſpicable Spot; eſpecially as there were Streams of freſh Water running down the Cliffs, in great Plenty, vaſt

Numbers of Fowls, and Fiſh enough all along the Shore. It is now called *Long Iſland*, and it was upon the Eaſtern Parts of it they fell.

From hence they could diſcern a great many other Iſlands, and the main Land itſelf, from the W. S. W. to the E. N. E. They viſited ſeveral of the Iſlands adjoining to the Continent, and found them all very full of Trees, both Timber and Fruit, of divers Sorts. Among theſe Iſlands they found a Harbour, in which Ships of any Burden might lye defended from all Manner of Winds, in ſix to 10 Fathom Water, upon a tough Clay Ooze. This they called *Pentecoſt* Harbour, becauſe it was at *Whitſuntide* they diſcovered it. The Fir-trees, which were in great Numbers on theſe Iſlands, yielded an exceeding ſweet Turpentine; and the Muſſels which they found upon the Rocks afforded ſmall Pearl in Abundance, and ſome large and orient; and the Shell of theſe Pearls, on the Inſide, reſembled Mother of Pearl; but they wanted proper Tackle to dredge for them.

The Savages on the Continent came off in their Canoes to traffick with them, while they lay in this excellent Harbour, their Commerce being much the ſame as the Reader has already ſeen, all Sorts of Skins and Furs, in Exchange for Knives, Beads, and ſuch like Trifles; and ſo good Chapmen were they at that Time, that they would give the Value of ten or twelve Pounds for five Shillings Worth of *Engliſh* Ironmonger's Ware. The Manners, Habits, Cuſtoms, *&c.* of the Natives, are the ſame as we have already ſeen. Their Tobacco Pipes were ſometimes made of Clay, and ſometimes the Claw of a Lobſter only; but always capacious enough to hold ten or twelve of ours.

They grew pretty familiar with theſe Savages; but found, as others had done, that, amidſt all their ſpecious Shews of Friendſhip, they were very treacherous, and ſought every Opportunity of betraying them. Of this they had one very evident Proof, when theſe Savages having invited them on Shore to traffick, had very near drawn them into an Ambuſh of near 300 Men armed, after their Manner, with Bows and Arrows; but they diſcovered their Treachery time enough to eſcape the Snare.

But the Qualities of the main Land, as far they diſcovered it, they found ſuperior in Goodneſs to thoſe of the Iſlands, notwithſtanding their Fruitfulneſs. But what they ſeemed moſt to value themſelves upon, among the Diſcoveries of this Voyage, was that of a River, now called *Connecticut River*. They went up into it ſeveral Leagues, and give this Account of it: That, as it runs up the Main, it keeps a good Breadth for 40 Miles together; in moſt Places a Mile, in ſome three Quarters, but never leſs than half a Mile broad. It flows 16 or 18 Foot, and at low Water is from 6 to 10 Fathom deep. It has Abundance of Harbours for Ships of all Burdens, and which will better ſecure them from Wind and Weather, than any known in *Europe*. On both Sides there are, at a ſmall Diſtance from one another, many fine Coves, capable of containing a hundred Sail, where the Ground is ſoft Ooze, with a tough Clay underneath for Anchor-hold. Nature has alſo made ſeveral excellent Places, as Docks, to grave and careen Ships of all Burdens, and ſecure them from all Winds. The Neighbouring Land trends along, on both Sides, in a ſmooth Line, and, inſtead of Rocks and Cliffs, are bordered with green Graſs, and tall Trees, Fir, Oak, and the like. The Ground, in a Word, is ſuch, that, with very little Labour, it might be converted into good Paſture, and in many

Places it is naturally ſo. The River yields vaſt Plenty of Fiſh, and is, perhaps, in every Reſpect, as delightful, as any of thoſe celebrated by the Poets of old. On both Sides, there are various Branches of it that run into the main Land, which afford a very eaſy and convenient Tranſportation of Goods from one Place to another. Thoſe who come to *Pentecoſt* Harbour will eaſily find this River: But this Company ſeems to be the firſt of the *Europeans* that ever were there; for they could not diſcover in all their Paſſage up the River, by any Signs whatever, that any had been before them.

The Company could all have chearfully ſat down upon the Banks of this River, and have planted there; but this being not conſiſtent with their Commiſſion, they were obliged to leave the further Diſcovery of this, and the reſt of the Country, till another Time. The Captain having therefore finiſh'd his Traffic with the Savages, after about ſix Weeks Stay in the River, and laden his Ship with Skins, Furs, Saſſafras, Tobacco, *&c.* he ſet Sail for *England* on the 16th of *June*, carrying five Savages along with him, together with their whole Eſtates of Bows, Arrows, and Canoes, and arrived at *Dartmouth* the 18th of *July*.

Roſier, in his Relation, obſerves, that theſe five Savages (whom they carried all alive to *England)* tho' when they ſurprized them, and carried them by Force on Board, they made their beſt Reſiſtance, yet, after they ſaw they were kindly uſed, ſhew'd no Manner of Diſcontent at their Condition. They found them tractable, loving, and willing to oblige them in every Thing; never at Diſcord one among another, nor ever ſhewing any Sign of Anger; and ſo kind, that whenever any Thing was given to any of them, he would be ſure to diſtribute

Part of it to every one of the reſt. One of them was a *Sagamo*, or Commander, three were of a Diſtinction above the Vulgar, and one a Servant.

It is obſervable, that hardly any of theſe latter Voyagers ever ſo much as endeavoured to come near the Place where the firſt Settlement was attempted at Cape *Hattorask*, neither had they any Pity on thoſe poor hundred and fifteen Souls, ſettled there in 1587, of whom there had never ſince been any Account, no Relief ſent to them, nor ſo much as any ſatisfactory Enquiry made after them, whether they were dead or alive, till about three Years after this, when *Cheſepeak* Bay, in *Virginia*, was ſettled, which hitherto had never been ſeen by any *Engliſhman*. So ſtrong was the Deſire of Riches, and ſo eager the Purſuit of a rich Trade, that all Concern for the Lives of their Fellow-Chriſtians, Kindred, Neighbours, and Countrymen, weighed nothing in the Compariſon; tho' an Enquiry might eaſily have been made, when they were ſo near them.

Captain CHARLES LEIGH's *Voyage to* Guiana.

IN the Year 1604, Captain *Charles Leigh* undertook a Voyage to *Guiana*, at his own, and his Brother, Sir *Olave Leigh*'s Charge. He had only one Bark of about fifty Tons, called the *Olive Plant*, and in his Company forty-ſix Men and Boys. They ſet out from *Woolwich* the twenty-firſt of *March*, with a Deſign to make a more compleat Diſcovery of the Country of *Guiana*, and to fix an *Engliſh* Colony there.

The 22d of *May* they came into the River *Wiaporo*, in the Lat. of 3 Deg. and 30 Min. to the North of the Line; and the Town of *Wiaporo*, which lies on the Coaſt of *Guiana*, was the Place where they intended to take up their Abode. Here the Captain came to an Agreement with the Inhabitants, who received him very kindly, that they ſhould allow him a good Space of Ground, and ſome Houſes, for the preſent, in Conſideration of which he was to aſſiſt them againſt their inveterate Enemies, the *Caribbees*.

This Agreement was made by Means of two of the Natives, who had been before in *England*, and could ſpeak ſome *Engliſh*; and for the better Security of the Performance of it on the Part of the Savages, they conſented to give five of their Body, among whom were two of Note, as Pledges, to be ſent to *England*.

Their firſt Settlement was on Part of the Mountain that lies on the Weſtward of the Entrance of the River, to which they gave the Name of *Mount Howard*. The Captain might have lived here very happily, and been of Uſe to his Country too, had he not had a mutinous and diſcontented Company, the Bane of moſt of ſuch Kind of Undertakings.

The next Year after the Captain's Arrival, he ſent his Ship to *England* in the Month of *June*, for freſh Supplies of ſuch Things as he wanted, retaining thirty-five of his Men and Boys with him, to ſettle the Colony; and on her Return ſet this Colony upon a better Footing than it had till then been. They had ſome Trade with the Natives, as well round about their Settlement, as farther up the River; and the chief Merchandizes they got were Wax, fine white long Feathers, Flax, Tobacco,

bacco, Parrots, Monkies, green and black, Cotton Yarn and Wool, ſweet Gums, red Pepper, Spleen and Matiate Stones, with ſeveral Sorts of Wood, Roots and Berries, partly for Medicines, and partly for Dying. But the Flux, and other Diſtempers, having carried off a good Number of the Company; and the Captain being ſeized with it himſelf, juſt as he was going on Board for *England*, to fetch a complete Loading of ſuch Things as were needful for his Colony, died of it likewiſe. By this unhappy Stroke, the whole Undertaking was quaſhed, and every one ſhifted for himſelf. Some returned to *England* in their own Veſſel, others in a *French* Ship, and others in two *Dutch* Ships, very much to the Regret of the *Indians*.

Captain ST. JOHN'*s intended Voyage to* Guiana, *and unfortunate End.*

SIR *Olave Leigh* reſolving to ſupport his Brother in his Eſtabliſhment of a Colony at *Guiana*, before he had any Account of his Succeſs, fitted out another Ship, called the *Olive Bloſſom*, commanded by Captain *Catalin*, and Captain *St. John*, to carry him a freſh Supply of Men and Neceſſaries.

This Ship ſet out from *Woolwich* for *Wiapcro*, the 14th of *April* 1605: But what between contrary Winds and Currents, and more by the Unſkilfulneſs of the Maſter, Mr. *Chambers*, they were put ſo far to the Leeward, that they deſpaired of ever recovering their intended Port in any due Time; and therefore they put in firſt at *Barbadoes*,

badoes, and afterwards at the Iſland of *St. Lucia*, deſigning from thence to return to *England* again. However, upon examining their Stores of Proviſions, and finding not near enough to ſerve ſo large a Company as they were, for ſo long a Voyage, Captain *St. John* himſelf, with ſeveral of the Paſſengers, reſolved rather to ſtay, and take their Lot upon that Iſland, than to run the Hazard of being ſtarved at Sea. Here, therefore, they were ſet on Shore on the twenty-third of *Auguſt*, with their Swords, Muſkets, Powder, one ſmall Piece of Ordnance, and one Barrel of Biſcuit for Food, which was all the others would allow them, being diſcontented that they had forcibly kept their Boat from them, for their Uſe.

They ſoon made Acquaintance with the *Indians*, who furniſhed them, in Exchange for Trifles, with Fruits, and ſome Fowls, as Hens, Gulls, Pelicans, Woodcocks, and Snipes; and they every Night had an Opportunity, with very little Trouble, of taking delicate Tortoiſes upon the Sands; ſo that they were in no Want of Food. They lived five or ſix Weeks in little Huts, or Houſes, which they had built, without making any Excurſions into the Country, or any Journey towards the Diſcovery of it. But the Captain ſeeing one Day certain Plates of Metal, upon the Arms of ſome of the *Indians*, and being informed by one *John Brown*, a Refiner, who was in their Company, that they were three Parts of Gold, enquired of the *Indians*, from whence they had it, and they pointed to a very large Mountain in the N. W. Part of the Iſland.

Upon this the Captain himſelf, with ſeveral of the chief of his Men (as many as would fill his Boat) went in Queſt of this golden Mountain, the reſt being appointed to keep good Guard at Home, in the mean-while, and aſſured them they would return in a Week's Time.

When this Part of the Company was gone, the others expected the *Indians* would have come and brought them Proviſions, as they uſed to do; but they heard nothing of them for three Days together. They had, it ſeems, obſerved where the Captain went, and had followed him to ſo good (or rather ill) Purpoſe, that they cut him off, with his whole Company. They were now intent upon making the ſame Riddance of their Companions, and, to this End, had got one *Augramert*, a deſperate Savage, and a Captain of the Iſland of *St. Vincent*, to head them in this Enterprize. To cover their Deſign, however, they carried it fair to them, and viſited them frequently, till one Day *Augramert*, having dined with them, and met with a courteous Entertainment, would needs, under a Pretext of a Return for the Civility, have the *Engiſh* go with him to his Quarters, where he promiſed to furniſh them with whatever Proviſions they wanted.

Mr. *St. John*, with ſeventeen others, accepted of the Invitation, but inſtead of carrying them to their Quarters, they led them into an Ambuſh of 500 Savages, where being ſurrounded and attacked on every Side with Vollies of Arrows, after doing all that Men could do in their own Defence, they were overpowered, and all ſlain, but one *John Nicols*, being ſome of them pierced with above a hundred Arrows.

He who made his Eſcape from this bloody Slaughter, was forced to hide himſelf in a Wood, then ſwim a Lake, and ſo, with great Difficulty, returned Home, having three Arrows in his Body, juſt Time enough to give his Companions the Alarm; for it was not long before they appeared before their Houſes, in order to aſſault them; but upon letting fly their ſmall Piece of Ordnance amongſt them, they quickly marched off again. In two or three Days they returned to the Number of 13 or 1400 Men, who, after having in vain attacked their little Fort and Houſes for ſeven Days together, with little Succeſs, at length thought of the pernicious Stratagem of ſending in Fire with their Arrows, which, in a ſhort Time, reduced the Habitations of the *Engliſh*, and all they had, to a Heap of Aſhes. They continued, however, to defend themſelves in ſo brave a Manner, that the *Indians* ſeeing they could not accompliſh their Deſign againſt this Handful of Men, reſolved at laſt to abandon the Enterprize.

After their Departure, ſome of the neighouring Savages, leſs ſavage than the reſt, furniſhed them with the Neceſſaries of Life for about a Week, and they were prevailed upon, for a Reward of Hatchets, Knives and Beads, to furniſh them with an old pitiful Boat. This they fitted up, as well as they could, and nineteen of them, the miſerable Remains of 68, of whom 12 were wounded, ventur'd out to Sea in her, without Chart or Compaſs, and having only four or five Gallons of Water, with a few Plantans and Potatoes, about twenty Biſcuits and a little Rice; but what was worſe than all the reſt, not one Mariner among them, and their Proviſion hardly ſufficient for three Days.

In this little Boat, ſo over-loaden, that her Gunnil lay almoſt even with the Water, they lived at Sea ten Days, ſome of them being obliged by Turns, Day and Night, to keep ſcooping out the Water. The tenth Day, when all Hopes began to fail them, and one of their Company was juſt expired, they diſcovered Land; but they could not reach it before Night, and then came upon it before they were aware, and ſplit their Boat upon a Rock. With much Difficulty they ſcrambled up the Rocks, and ſaved themſelves from the Fury of the Waves, to run the Hazard of dying by Famine; for the Iſland was uninhabited, and afforded them no Manner of Suſtenance. In this miſerable Plight, they had no Remedy but to repair their Boat again, as well as they could, and to ſend over five of their Men to the Continent, to ſeek Relief. After many Difficulties and Dangers, theſe Men came to an *Indian* Town on the Continent, called *Tocoya*, from whence, after fifteen Days Abſence, they carried Succour to their miſerable Companions, of whom five died, in the mean Time, for Want of it. They were now reduced to thirteen, who got together to a *Spaniſh* Town called *Coro*, where, tho' they were treated with great Humanity, two more of them died. Three of them went from thence to *Carthagena*, and were followed by two more, where they got a Paſſage to *Spain*; but what became of the reſt, I no where find.

This Year the *Dutch* began to ſhew they were no longer the *poor diſtreſſed States*, as they ſtiled themſelves to the Queen, in the foregoing Reign. King *James* having ſent the Earl of *Hertford* in Ambaſſy to *Bruſſels*, while he was at Sea, a *Dutch* Man of War ſailed by, and refuſing to ſtrike, the *Engliſh* Commander (Sir *William Monſon)* prepared to compel him, but the Ambaſſador would not give him Leave. This was the firſt Indignity of this Nature received by *England* from the *Dutch*; which however King *James* thought fit to put up, tho' he might eaſily have had Reparation, if he had demanded it, under the Circumſtances the *United Provinces* were then in. The *Engliſh*, indeed, murmured at it, and many took Occaſion to compare the King's Indolence, with *Elizabeth*'s heroic Spirit, which hardly would have let her be ſo eaſy under ſuch an Affront.

The firſt Attempts for a Diſcovery of New England.

THE Province, which now goes under the Name of *New England*, is Part of the Continent diſcover'd by *Barlow* and *Amidas*, ſent out, for that Purpoſe, by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and, by Queen *Elizabeth*, called *Virginia*. The firſt *Engliſhman* who landed on this Part of the Continent, was Sir *Francis Drake*, when he returned from the *Weſt-Indies*, in 1586. He ſtaid two or three Days on the Coaſt, and traded with the Natives for what he wanted; during which Time, one of the *Indian* Kings ſubmitted to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Generality of thoſe who have undertook to give an Account of the firſt Settlements in *New England*, are ſo prolix in their Narrations, that it would exceed the Limits we have preſcribed to ourſelves in this Work, to be as minutely particular as they are. Mr. *Neale*, however, muſt be excepted, who, in his Hiſtory of this Country, and the Attempts and Methods taken to plant and colonize it, is ſo plain, judicious, and conciſe, that we chuſe to follow him rather than any other Writer.

Captain *Goſnoll*, whoſe Voyage to the Northern Parts of *Virginia* we have already related, was the firſt *Engliſhman* who made any conſiderable Stay in this Country; and on his Return Home, gave ſuch an advantageous Account of it, and of the civil Treatment he met with from the Natives, that the

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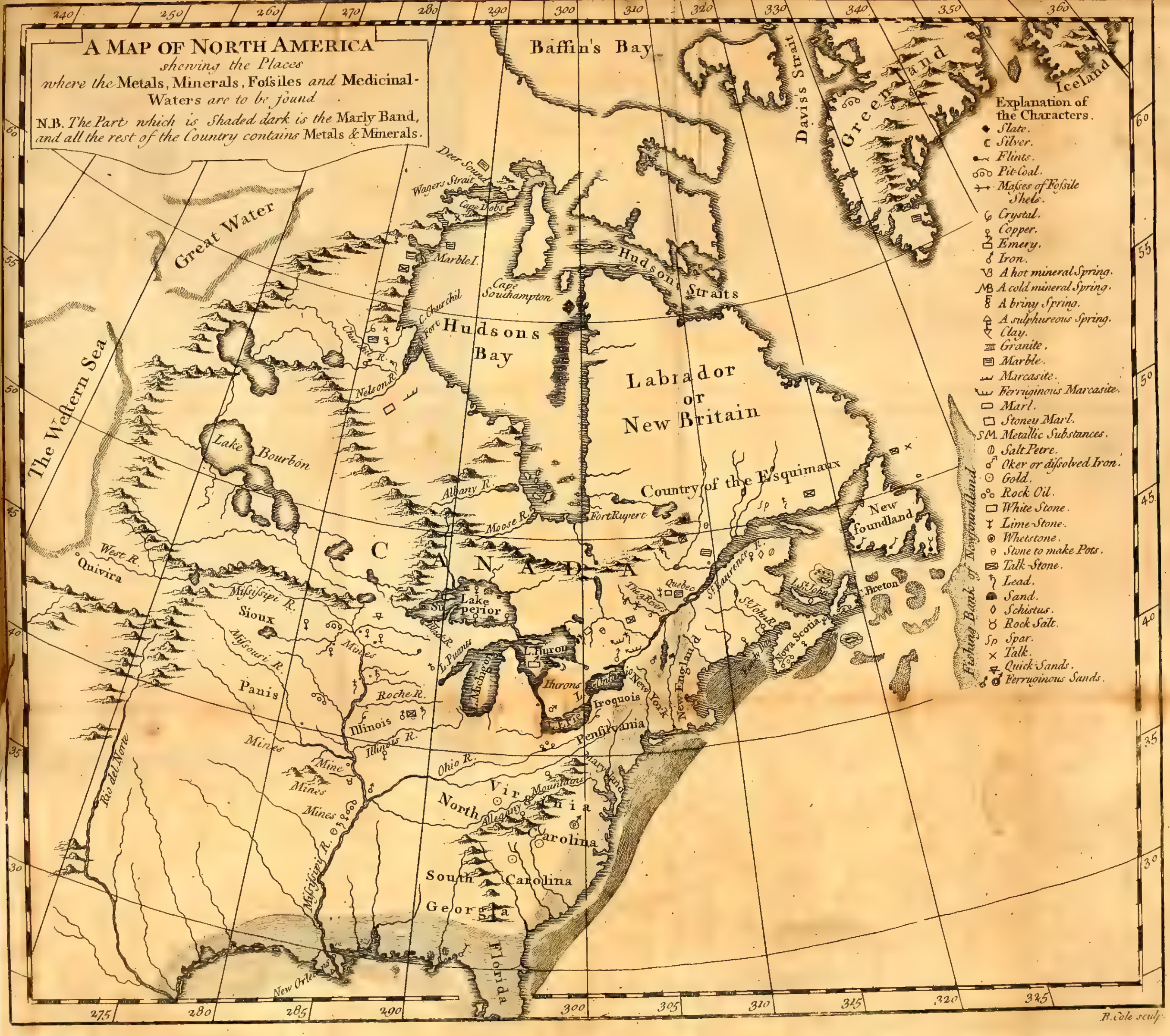


A MAP OF NORTH AMERICA
shewing the Places
where the Metals, Minerals, Foſsiles *and* Medicinal-Waters *are to be found.*

N.B. *The Part which is Shaded dark is the* Marly Band, *and all the rest of the Country contains* Metals & Minerals.

the Merchants begun once more to think of a Settlement in theſe Parts, and the Captain ſolicited the Matter ſo effectually with the Court of King *James*, that ſeveral Gentlemen engaged in it, and the King incorporated two Companies in one Patent, bearing Date the 10th of *April*, 1606. The firſt were allowed to ſettle themſelves at any Place on the Coaſt of *Virginia*, between the Degrees of 34 and 41 N. L. The other between the Degrees of 38 and 45. Each had Liberty to ſtretch themſelves 100 Miles along the Coaſts, and 100 Miles within Land, but not to plant within 100 Miles of each other. In this laſt Patent was included *New England*, *New York*, *New Jerſey*, and *New Penſilvania*, as they are now divided into ſeveral Provinces, but the whole Country was then called *Virginia*, and was no otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed for ſome Time after, than by the Names of *North* and *South Virginia*.

The Proprietors of the Patent for *South Virginia*, began their Settlement the very ſame Year with the Date of it. They fitted out two Ships under the Command of Captain *Newport*, with whom went the honourable Mr. *Percy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Captain *Goſnoll*, Captain *Smith*, Captain *Ratliffe*, Captain *Martin*, Mr. *Wingfield*, a Miniſter, and abundance of Handicraft Tradeſmen; they fell in with the Coaſt near Cape *Henry* the Southermoſt Point of the Bay *Cheſeapeak*, and raiſed a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Powhatan*, now *James River*; here they left 100 Men with Proviſions, Arms, Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries for a Settlement, who made a Shift to maintain themſelves on the Place, and the next Year built *James Town*, about 50 Miles up the River: From theſe ſmall Beginnings, the Plantation of *Virginia* has riſen to the Figure it has ſince made in the *Britiſh* Commerce.

Sir *John Popham*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, Sir *Ferdinand Gorges*, Governor of *Plymouth* Fort, and ſeveral other Weſt-country Gentlemen and Merchants, Proprietors of the Patent for *North Virginia*, fitted out a Ship the ſame Year with 30 Men, under the Command of *Henry Challons*, to make a Diſcovery of that Country. They ſet out in *Auguſt*, but being got as far as the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indian* Iſlands, they fell in with a Fleet of *Spaniſh* Ships, which took them Priſoners, and after a great deal of ill Uſage, carried them into *Spain*, where they were treated after a very cruel and inhuman Manner. This Misfortune damped the Courage of the firſt Adventurers, but the Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham* quickly after ſent out another Ship at his own Charge, under the Command of Captain *Hanam*, who brought back ſuch an encouraging Account of the Country, that the Proprietors who were fallen off, reſolved to make a ſecond Adventure; they fitted out two Ships with 100 Men, Ordnance, Stores, and all Neceſſaries for a Plantation, under the Command of Captain *Popham* and Captain *Gilbert*, in the Year 1608, who began a Settlement on the Banks of the River *Sagadahock*, in *Norembegua*, but before the Return of the Ships, the Lord Chief Juſtice, who was the Life of the Enterprize, died. The Planters, however, built a Fort, which they called *St. George*, but Captain *Popham* dying there, and Captain *Gilbert* declaring his Reſolution to return to *England* to take Poſſeſſion of an Eſtate, which fell to him by the Death of his Elder Brother; they could not be perſuaded to ſtay in the Country, ſo they all broke up, and came away for *England*.

But the Trade turned to ſo good an Account, by Reaſon of the Fiſh, Furs, and other Commodities of the Country, that the Merchants were continually fitting out Ships to traffick with the Natives. In the Year 1614, four Gentlemen, Captain *Royden*, Mr. *Longham*, Mr. *Bully*, and Mr. *Skelton*, fitted out two Ships at their own Charge for the *Weſt-Indies*; Captain *John Smith*, who had been Preſident of the Council of *South Virginia*, was Commander of the one, and *Thomas Hunt* of the other; Captain *Smith* falling in with the Land about the Iſland of *Monahigan*, traded with the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts; and while his Men were fiſhing upon the Coaſts, he travelled up into the Country, with only eight Men, and drew a Plan of it, and preſented it to Prince *Charles*, who gave it the Name of NEW ENGLAND, and was pleaſed, at the Captain's Requeſt, to give *Engliſh* Names to the moſt remarkable Places in the Country; the *Maſſachuſets* River, he called *Charles* River; the Harbour of *Cape Cod*, *Milford Haven*; and the *Cape* itſelf, *Cape James*; *Accominlicus*, he called *Boſton*; *Aggawom*, *Southampton*; and ſo to the Number of about 30 Places, a Liſt of which the Reader may ſee in *Smith*'s *Voyages*, *Lib.* VI. p. 205. The Captain made his Voyage out and Home in about ſix Months, and got about 1500 *l.* for his Principals, by the Sale of his Otter and Beaver-ſkins, Salt-fiſh, Train-oil, and other Commodities.

But when Captain *Smith* was gone; *Hunt*, Commander of the other Veſſel, which was bound for *Spain* in her Way home, enticed between 20 and 30 of the Natives aboard him, and, contrary to the Law of Nations, and the public Faith, clapt them under Hatches, and ſold them to the *Spaniards* at *Malaga* on his own Account. His Owners ſeverely cenſur'd this Part of his Conduct, and on his Arrival in *England*, diſcharged him their Service: But the *Indians* reſented this Piece of Treachery ſo highly, that they reſolved to be revenged on the next *Engliſh* that came upon the Coaſt. Captain *Hobſon* was the unhappy Man, who was diſpatched the next Spring with Men, Arms, Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries for a Settlement. Upon the Ship's Arrival, many of the *Indians* came aboard, and were kindly entertained by the Captain; at their Departure they promiſed to return next Day with ſome Trade; they came accordingly with 20 Canoes, but refuſed to come aboard. *Epenow*, an *Indian*, whom the Captain had brought with him as an Interpreter, beckoned to them to come near, and immediately leap'd into the Water and ſwam to them; upon which the *Engliſh* fired upon him, and the *Indians* from their Canoes let fly their Arrows at the Ship, and carried off their Countryman, notwithſtanding all the Attempts of the *Engliſh* to recover him; ſeveral of the *Indians* were killed in the Skirmiſh; and the Maſter of the *Engliſh* Veſſel, and ſome of his Company were wounded, which diſcouraged them ſo much, that they returned to *England*, bringing nothing with them, but the bad News of a War with the *Indians*.

In the Year 1619, Mr. *Dormer* was ſent to proſecute the Deſign of planting and ſettling a Trade in *New England*, and to endeavour to make Peace with the *Indians*; he brought *Squanto*, one of the *Indians* that *Hunt* had carried away from *Paluxet* along with him; but tho' *Squanto* did what he could to pacify his Countrymen, telling them that *Hunt* was a Villain, and that his Treachery had been condemned by the *Engliſh*, yet they could not forgive it, but watched their Opportunity, and gave *Dormer* fourteen Wounds, ſo that he had much ado to eſcape with his Life: Hereupon he failed away for *Virginia*, but left *Squanto* behind him.

The Patentees having met with ſo many Diſappointments, laid aſide all farther Thoughts of ſending Colonies into theſe Parts, and therefore made Grants of ſmall Parcels of Land on the Northern Parts of *New England* to private Adventurers, who ſettled ſmall Factories in the Summer-time to aſſiſt their Merchant-men in trading with the *Indians*; but a Settlement was not ſo much as thought of, till Mr. *John Robinſon*, and Mr. *William Brewſter*, the former an Independent Miniſter, the latter a Ruling Elder in the ſame Church, both of them, with their Diſciples and Followers, driven out of *England* for their Religion, in the Reign of King *James* I. and living now at *Leyden*, bravely accompliſhed it.

Here Mr. *Neale* introduces an Account of the various Nations by whom this Country was then inhabited, their Governments, Laws, Cuſtoms, Manners, Language, *&c.* all which are now better known, by the Tranſactions and Occurrences that have happen'd in *America* during the Courſe of the preſent War, than it was poſſible to be at the firſt Settlements of the *Engliſh* there; as, therefore, we imagine, a Recital of them would be ſuperfluous, we ſhall proceed to Matters more eſſential to the Buſineſs in Hand.

Mr. *Robinſon* and his Followers, being driven out of *England*, on Account of Religion, as before obſerved, in the Year 1610, ſettled at *Leyden*, where they formed themſelves into a Church, and continued there as ſuch for the Space of ten Years: But finding their Affairs go backward, and that their Poſterity were like to be loſt among the *Dutch*, they reſolved to remove into ſome Part of *America* under the King's Protection, where they might live by themſelves, and have a Proſpect of encouraging their Friends and Countrymen to ſettle with them.

But before they ſet out for *America*, they diſpatched Agents to *England*, who, after they had obtained a Patent from the King for the free Exerciſe of their Religion in any Part of *America* where they ſhould ſettle, treated firſt with the *Virginia* Company for a large Tract of Land in the North Part of that Country ; but, upon better Conſideration, they abandoned their Purchaſe, and enter'd into Articles with ſuch Merchant-Adventurers, as were willing to encourage their ſettling in the South-Weſt Parts of *New England*, on the Banks of *Hudſon*'s River ; the Articles bore pretty hard on the Planters, but they were the beſt their preſent Circumſtances could procure.

Several of Mr. *Robinſon*'s Congregation ſold their Eſtates, and made a common Bank, with which, and the Money they received of the Adventurers, they purchaſed the *Speedwell* a ſmall Ship of 60 Tons, and hired the *Mayflower* of 180 Tons. The Agents ſailed back to *Holland* in the *Speedwell* to take in as many of their Congregation as were willing to embark with them ; while the *Mayflower* was fitting out in the River of *Thames*, and freighting with all Neceſſaries for the Plantation. The *Speedwell* was deſigned to continue in the Country, and ſerve the Planters for Fiſhing and other Uſes ; but the *Mayflower*, when ſhe had performed her Voyage, was to to return.

On the 5th of *Auguſt*, both Ships ſailed in Company for *New-England* ; but before they got to the Land's End, Mr. *Reynolds*, Maſter of the *Speedwell*, complained that the Ship was ſo leaky, that he durſt not venture out to Sea in her : Upon which they put into *Dartmouth* to have her calked. They then put to Sea a ſecond Time ; but when they had ſail'd about 100 Leagues, Mr. *Reynolds* alarm'd his Paſſengers again, telling them he ſhould certainly founder at Sea if he held on the Voyage. So both Ships put back to *Plymouth*, and the *Speedwell* was diſmiſſed as unfit for the Voyage; tho' in Truth this was owing chiefly to the Cowardice and Treachery of the Maſter, who did not care to perform the Voyage, being afraid their Proviſions would fall ſhort before the Year was expired, for the Ship was ſound enough, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful Voyages afterwards.

The whole Company, being 120, were now ſtow'd into one Ship, which ſailed out of *Plymouth* on the ſixth of *September:* A ſad Time of Year to enter on ſuch an Expedition. After a long and dangerous Voyage, they fell in with Land at *Cape Cod* on the 9th of *November* following. Here they refreſhed themſelves about half a Day, and then tack'd about to the Southward for *Hudſon's Bay*; but Mr. *Jones*, the Maſter, had, it ſeems, been brib'd by the *Hollanders* to carry them more to the North, intending themſelves to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe Parts, as they did ſome Time after. Inſtead therefore of putting out to Sea, he entangled them among dangerous Shoals and Breakers, where meeting with a Storm, the Ship was driven back again to the Cape; upon which they put into the Harbour, and reſolved, conſidering the Seaſon of the Year, to attempt a Settlement there, and not to proceed forward to the Bay. There was, however, an unexpected Advantage in their ſettling here, which was, That the Country had in a Manner been depopulated by a Plague the laſt Year, which had carried off nine Parts in ten of the Inhabitants, whereas the Natives were ſo numerous about the Bay, that in all Probability they would have maſſacred the Planters as ſoon as they came aſhore: But then there was an Inconvenience attending it, which was, That *Cape Cod* not being within the Limits of their Patent, the Powers they had received from *England* would become void. But Neceſſity has no Law, and therefore before they went aſhore, they entered into a ſolemn Combination to ſubmit to ſuch Laws as by the Majority ſhould be approved of: In Witneſs whereof they ſign'd the following Inſtrument.

IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN. *We whoſe Names are hereunder written, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King* James, *by the Grace of God, of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith,* &c. *having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Chriſtian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the firſt Colony in the Northern Parts of* Virginia, *do by theſe Preſents, ſolemnly and mutually, in the Preſence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourſelves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better Ordering, and Preſervation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforeſaid, and by Virtue hereof do enact, conſtitute, and frame ſuch juſt and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Conſtitutions, and Officers, from Time to Time, as ſhall be thought moſt meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony, unto which we promiſe all due Submiſſion and Obedience.* Witneſſed *November* 11th, 1620, and ſubſcribed by one and forty of the Chief of them.

Sad was the Condition of theſe poor Men, who had the Winter before them, and no Accommodations for their Entertainment! Moſt of them were reduced to a weak and ſickly Condition by their Voyage, and now they were come to Port had no Friends to welcome them, no Houſes to receive them, nor Phyſicians to take Care of them: The Country was full of Woods and Thickets, and began to look with a Winter Complexion; beſides, they were under Apprehenſions from the *Indians*, who were on no good Terms with the *Europeans* at this Time: But there was no looking back; the Maſter of the Ship preſſed them to look out for a Settlement, and threaten'd to ſet them and their Goods aſhore, and return home, if they did not uſe Expedition in it. He told them plainly, he was reſolved to ſecure Proviſions for himſelf and his Men home, let them ſhift as they would.

So they immediately choſe Mr. *John Carver* their Governor for one Year, and ſet ſixteen Men aſhore with Fire-arms to view the Country, and look out a convenient Place for a Settlement. Having marched about a Mile upon the Coaſt they diſcovered five *Indians*, whom they follow'd for ſeveral Miles, but could not come to the Speech of them. Next Morning they ventured higher up into the Country, and came to a large Spot of clear Ground, where Corn had been planted. They diſcovered ſeveral Graves, the Remains of a Houſe, a great Kettle, and ſome Heaps of Sand in which they found ſeveral Baſkets of Corn in the Ear, ſome of which they brought away with them; but not finding any Place fit to make a Settlement, they returned next Day to their Ship. In their Way home they ſaw a young Tree bent down almoſt to the Ground, with ſome Acorns under it. One of the Company going a little too near, it gave a ſudden Jerk, and caught him up by the Leg, where he muſt have hung, if his Friends had not come to his Relief: This was an *Indian* Deer Trap.

After this, the Maſter of the Ship, with thirty Men, went out in the Boat; and coaſted along the Shore for two or three Leagues, but could find no Harbour to receive any Thing bigger than a Boat.

Having diſcover'd two Houſes cover'd with Mats, they went aſhore, and made up to them, but the People run away. They found about ten Buſhels of Corn, ſome Beans, and a Bottle of Oil, which they brought away in their Boat, and made Uſe of for Seed the next Spring. Some of the Company were for ſettling at this Creek, becauſe it was a good Harbour for Boats, tho' not for Ships; there was Ground ready cleared to their Hands, and the Place was healthy and defenſible: It was near *Cape Cod*, an excellent Place for Fiſhery: And laſtly, becauſe the Winter was ſo far advanced, that they could not go a Coaſting without the utmoſt Hazard both of Men and Boat. Others again were for making farther Trial, till they could find a Harbour for Ships, and urged that they might ſail 20 Leagues to the Northward, where they had heard of an excellent Harbour for Ships, and good Fiſhing; but the Company could not be prevailed with to try this laſt Experiment.

However, they reſolved to ſend out their Boat once more to go round the whole Bay of *Cape Cod*, and ſee if there was a Harbour for Ships. The Chief of the Planters went on this Diſcovery, with the Maſter-Gunner of the Ship and three of the Sailors. They ſet Sail on the 6th of *December*, the Weather being ſo cold that the Spray of the Sea froze upon their Cloaths. They got down that Night into the Bottom of the Bay, where they diſcovered ten *Indians* about a dead Grampus. They landed about a League off them, and lay aſhore all Night without any Diſturbance. Next Morning they divided their Company, coaſting along, ſome on the Shore, and ſome in the Boat; but ſaw no People, nor any Place fit for a Settlement that Day. The whole Company lay aſhore next Night by the Side of a Creek, where they made a Barricado of Boughs and Logs for their Lodging. Next Morning about Break of Day they were briſkly attack'd by a Company of *Indians*, who let fly a Shower of Arrows among them, attended with a terrible Shout, after this Manner; *Hoach hoach ha ha hoch woach!* Upon this they immediately ran to their Arms, which were no more than four Muſkets, a few Swords and Battle-Axes, the other Muſkets being in the Boat. The Muſketeers were placed in two Lines, the former of which were order'd to fire, while thoſe in the Rear were making ready. The *Indians* ſtood ſeveral Fires; one in particular, having ſheltered himſelf behind a Tree, let fly three Arrows, and ſtood three Diſcharges of a Muſket, before he ran away. The reſt of the *Indians* wheel'd about upon thoſe who run out of the Barricado towards the Boat, but not being able to do any Execution upon them, they retired. The *Engliſh* gather'd up eighteen of their Arrows, whereof ſome were headed with Braſs, others with Harts-horn, and others with Eagles Claws.

After this, they all went into the Boat, reſolving to be govern'd by their Pilot, who aſſured them he knew of a good Harbour for Ships, which they might reach before Night: But in the Afternoon the Weather grew tempeſtuous, and the Sea ran ſo high, that they were in Danger of being caſt away, for they had loſt their Maſt and Rudder, and had nothing to truſt to but their Oars; but having the Benefit of the Flood, they ſtruck in to Shore, where the Pilot and Mate were for running in the Boat among a Cove of Breakers right before the Wind, but a ſtout Sailor that was at the Helm, bid them, *If they were Men, about with her, elſe they were all caſt away*; which they did, tho' it rained hard and was very dark. In a little Time they got under a

Lee-Shore, where they lay in Safety all Night, and the next Morning found themſelves on a ſmall Iſland, which they called *Clark's-Iſland*, becauſe Mr. *Clark*, the Mate, was the firſt Man that ſtept aſhore. Here they reſted that Day, and the next being *Sunday*, render'd Thanks to Almighty God for their late Preſervation. On *Monday* they ſounded the Harbour, which by the *Indians* was called *Patuxet*, and found it fit for Shipping. Next Day they march'd up into the Country, and diſcover'd divers Corn-Fields, and little running Brooks, ſo they reſolved to pitch here, and returning to the Ship they reported their Reſolution to the reſt of the Company.

On the 15th of *December*, the whole Company weigh'd Anchor, and arrived next Day at the Harbour, which was a large Bay, with two ſmall Iſlands in it; but the Coaſt was ſo ſhallow, that the Ship was obliged to ride at Anchor above a Mile from the Shore; and tho' their Boat was very ſerviceable to them on this Occaſion, yet they were forced to wade a great Way in the Water to land their Goods. On the 19th they quitted the Ship, and on the 25th they began to erect a Store-houſe for their Goods, and ſome ſmall Cottages to preſerve them from the Weather. On the 28th, they meaſured out the Ground, and divided their whole Company into nineteen Families, allotting to every Perſon half a Pole in Breadth, and three in Length, for Lodging and Gardens; and to prevent all Diſputes about the Situation of each Family, they divided it by Lot. They agreed likewiſe upon ſome Laws both for their Civil and Military Government, and called the Place of their Settlement by the Name of NEW PLYMOUTH.

But no ſooner were the Planters got aſhore, but a ſad Mortality began to rage among them, occaſioned partly by the Fatigues of their late Voyage, and partly by the Severity of the Weather, and Want of Neceſſaries, which in two or three Months Time carried off above half the Company ; ſo that out of above a hundred Planters, there remained not above fifty, and of them not above ſix or ſeven at a Time, who who were capable of helping the reſt. Inexpreſſible were the Hardſhips they underwent the firſt Winter. If the *Indians* had been apprized of their Circumſtances, they might have cut them off without any Trouble ; but they appeared only at a Diſtance, till the 16th of *March*, when one *Samaſet*, who had learn'd a little broken *Engliſh* from the Fiſhermen who traded to the Eaſtern Parts of the Country, came boldly to them, Soldier-like, with his Bow and Arrows in his Hand, and bid them welcome. He was one of the *Sagamores* belonging to the Northern Parts about *Manhegin*, a Country about five or ſix Days Journey by Land from their Town, and was a Perſon of a free, eaſy Carriage, quite naked, except a Piece of Leather about his Waiſt, a tall ſtrait Man, with long black Hair, but no Beard. The Planters entertained him in the beſt Manner they could, and having conferred with him concerning the State of the Country, the Number and Strength of the Inhabitants, the Situation and Diſtance from the Place where they were, they diſmiſſed him in the moſt friendly and obliging Manner. Some Time after he came again with ſeveral other Natives, ſome of them cloathed with Deers Skins, others with a Sort of large Hoſe that reached up to their Groins, and Pieces of Leather about their Waiſts, but the Chief of them was diſtinguiſhed by a wild Cat's Skin on his Arm. They were tall, proper Men, of a brown Complexion, like the *Engliſh* Gypſies ; their Hair was cut ſhort before, but hung down very long behind, and was ſtuck with Feathers after ſeveral antick Faſhions. They eat and drank very freely with the *Engliſh*, and in Return entertained them with ſome *Engliſh* Dances. They acquainted the Planters with the Deſign of their great *Sachem Maſſaſoiet*, to make them a Viſit, and went home very well ſatisfied. On the 22d of *March*, *Maſſaſoiet* himſelf, with his Brother *Quadequina*, and about ſixty of his Friends and Attendants, came to *Plymouth* without any Arms. Captain *Standiſh* met him at the Head of a File of Muſqueteers, and conducted him into a Houſe, where a Seat of State was prepared for him, which was three or four Cuſhions placed upon a great Rug. *Maſſaſoiet* was a large tall Man, middle-aged, of a grave Countenance, and ſparing of Speech. His Dreſs was little different from that of his Men (the ſame with that before-mentioned) only he had a Chain of Fiſh Bones about his Neck, in which Ornament all the Majeſty of his Garb conſiſted. His Face was painted with a murry Red, and both that and his Head were licked over with Oil, ſo that he made a very ſhining Figure. He had a long Knife hanging by a String at his Boſom, and behind on his Back a little Pouch of Tobacco. This was Furniture he never went without; but the Chain was only for high Days, and ſelect Company. His Men had alſo their Bags of Tobacco at their Backs, and their Faces painted with a Variety of Colours. The Governor came into the Room, attended with a Guard; a Drum and Trumpet marching before him: *Maſſaſoiet* having kiſſed the Governor, they ſat down together, and preſently an Entertainment was brought in, conſiſting chiefly of ſtrong Waters, of which the *Indians* are great Lovers;

and the *Sachem* took ſuch a hearty Draught of it at once, as made him ſweat all the Time he ſtaid.

Among the Attendants of *Maſſaſoiet* was *Squanto*, who had been kidnapped away by *Hunt*, and ſold to the *Spaniards*, from whom he made his Eſcape into *England*, and was Servant to one Mr. *Slaney*, who uſed him ſo well, that he loved the *Engliſh* ever after, and had no other Reaſon but the Love of Liberty to return to his own Country. *Squanto* was a hearty Friend of the Colony, and brought his Countrymen to have a good Opinion of them, by aſſuring them, that *Hunt*, who had carried him off, and ſo many of his Countrymen, was a declared Villain. He ſerved now as an Interpreter between the Great *Sachem* and the Governor, who, after mutual Civilities, and Preſents made, entered into an Alliance; the chief Conditions of which were theſe.

1. That neither *Maſſaſoiet*, nor any of his, ſhould injure or do Hurt to any of the Colony.

2. That if any of his did any Hurt to any of theirs, he ſhould ſend the Offender, that they might puniſh him.

3. That if any Thing was taken away from any of *theirs*, he ſhould cauſe it to be reſtored, and they ſhould do the like to *his*.

4. That if any did unjuſtly war againſt *him*, they would aid him: And if any did war againſt *them*, he ſhould aid them.

5. That he ſhould ſend to his Neighbour Confederates to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might likewiſe be comprized in theſe Conditions of Peace.

6. That when his Men came to them on any Occaſion, they ſhould leave their Arms (Bows and Arrows) behind them.

7. That ſo doing, their Sovereign Lord King *James* would eſteem him as his Friend and Ally.

The *Sachem* was not only content with theſe Conditions, but was willing to become a Subject of the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and gave away all the Lands adjacent, to the Planters and their Heirs, for ever. After this, he returned Home, but *Squanto* continued with the Colony as their Interpreter, and was very ſerviceable in directing them in the Manner of planting their Corn, and catching Fiſh; as alſo in piloting them up and down the Coaſt, and never left them till he died.

The *May-Flower* rid at Anchor all the Winter in the Bay, tho' the Captain would have been gone much ſooner, but for the Sickneſs of his Men; but they recovering, as the Spring came on, he weighed Anchor about the latter End of *March*.

In *April* the Governor, Mr. *Carver*, fell ſick, and died: He was a good Man, and of ſo charitable a Diſpoſition, that he refuſed not the meaneſt Offices of Love and Service to the Sick; but not being uſed to ſuch Fatigues and Hardſhips, he fell into a Diſtemper which carried him off in a few Days. The Company buried him with as much Solemnity as they could, diſcharging ſeveral Vollies of Shots over his Grave.

Mr. *William Bradford* was choſen for his Succeſſor, who in the Beginning of *July* ſent Mr. *Winſlow* and Mr. *Hopkins* on an Embaſſy to *Maſſaſoiet*, with *Squanto* for their Guide and Interpreter. Their Commiſſion was to view the Country, to obſerve his military Strength, and to confirm the Peace of *Plymouth*. The *Indians* all along by the Way treated them with a great deal of Courteſy, and plain honeſt Freedom, ſupplied them with Proviſions, carried their Baggage, and waded through the Rivers with them on their Backs. But the Country was very much depopulated; there were fine Corn-Fields, and Paſture-Grounds, without either Cattle or Inhabitants, the Plague having lately ſwept them away. About the River, where formerly Abundance of People had dwelt, there were but two Savages remaining, both old Men unfit for the Hazards of War, or the Defence of their Country; yet as ſoon as they ſaw the *Engliſh* coming, they ran to the oppoſite Bank of the River, and ſtood upon their Guard with their Bows and Arrows in their Hands, and with a reſolute Boldneſs demanded who and what they were, intending, if they were Enemies, to have died, rather than ſuffer them to paſs the River; but hearing they were Friends, they entertained them with the beſt Food they had. Upon their Arrival at *Pokanoket*, the ordinary Reſidence of the Great *Sachem*, they made him a Preſent of a red Cotton Coat trimm'd with Lace, which was very acceptable. The *Sachem* in Return treated them with the utmoſt Civilities. Mr. *Winſlow* was lodged on the Royal Bed, which was nothing but a few Planks raiſed about a Foot high from the Ground. *Maſſaſoiet* and his Queen lay at one End of it, under a thin Mat, and the Ambaſſadors, with two or three of the Grandees, at the other; but the Court was ſo ill furniſhed with Proviſions, that the Ambaſſadors were almoſt ſtarved. However, having confirmed the Peace, they returned Home, and reported that *Maſſaſoiet*'s Country was very much waſted and depopulated with the Plague; but that the *Narrhaganſets*, who lived on the other Side of the Bay, were numerous, and very formidable.

All the neighbouring Princes were now in Peace with the *Engliſh*, and courted their Friendſhip, except *Canonicus*, Prince of the *Narrhaganſets*, who ſent a Meſſenger to the Plantation with a Bundle of Arrows tied together with a Snake's Skin; which

Squanto told them was a Declaration of War. Upon which the Governor, in Return, ſent back by the Meſſenger this reſolute Anſwer, *That if they loved War, they might begin as ſoon as they would, he did not fear them, nor ſhould they find him unprovided.* He likewiſe ſent a Meſſenger of his own to *Canonicus*, with ſome Powder and Ball tied up in the ſame Snake's Skin, which check'd the Inſolence of the Barbarians for the preſent, for they were ſo terrified with the Powder, that they would not receive it into their Houſes. This, however, put the *Engliſh* on palliſading their little Town, and making Gates in convenient Places, which were lock'd every Night; and for keeping a conſtant Watch to prevent a Surprize, the Soldiers were divided into four Companies, and every one knew his Place in Caſe of Action.

On the 18th of *September* the Planters ſent out Captain *Standiſh*, and ten Men, in their Boat, to the *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay, with *Squanto* for their Interpreter. But they were no ſooner turned the Point of the Harbour, but they were called back by the Diſcharge of a Cannon from the Colony, who had been alarmed by an *Indian* coming to them with his Face covered with Blood, and telling them that *Maſſaſoiet* had joined with the *Narrhaganſets*, to aſſault them in the Captain's Abſence, and that he had received all thoſe Wounds in diſſuading them from it. The Colony were in the utmoſt Conſternation at this Report, but *Habbamock*, an *Indian* Youth, who had come to live amongſt them, perſuaded them to be eaſy, and diſpatched away his Wife to the Court of *Maſſaſoiet* for Intelligence, who brought back Word, that all was well, and that *Maſſaſoiet* was concerned that the *Engliſh* ſhould miſtruſt him. It appeared afterwards, that this was one of *Squanto*'s ſham Plots, which had like to have coſt him his Life; for the *Sachem* ſent two of his *Tawnies* with his own Knife, to bring him dead or alive, which they had certainly done, had not the *Engliſh* protected him, and interceded with the angry Prince for his Pardon. This Fright being over, the Captain and his Men purſued their Voyage to the *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay; which they viewed, and were civilly entertained by the Natives, with whom they traffick'd; they were ſo charmed with the Situation of that Part of the Country, that they wiſhed heartily they had ſettled there; but it was too late; for they had now fixed their Cottages againſt Winter, and were buſy in getting in Harveſt, which muſt have been loſt, if they had attempted to remove. In the ſame Month arrived the *Fortune*, a ſmall Veſſel, fom *England*, with thirty-five Paſſengers, for this Plantation, but no Proviſions, which occaſioned a Famine among them ſoon after; for the Harveſt proved very indifferent this Year, the Seed which the Planters brought from *England*, being either damaged, or not ripening, becauſe it was ſown in the Spring; nor did the *Indian* Corn yield any tolerable Produce for Want of Skill in the planting of it.

About the latter End of *May* came in a ſmall Ship belonging to Mr. *Thomas Weſton*, Merchant, with ſeven Paſſengers, but no Proviſions; and after that two more, with ſixty Paſſengers, who were entertained at *Plymouth* all the Summer, and then removed to the *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay. They were a diſorderly Company of Men, and ſoon forced to break up, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

By the Return of one of theſe Veſſels, which went forward to *Virginia*, the Governor received the melancholy News, of a dreadful Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, which was perpetrated

March 22d, 1622, when 334 Perſons were cut to Pieces. Upon this, the Colony at *Plymouth* built a Timber-Fort, with a flat Roof and Battlements, mounted ſeveral Pieces of Cannon upon it, and kept Guard in it Night and Day. It was a conſiderable Work for the few Hands that were employed about it; but the Terror of the *Virginia* Maſſacre, with the Fear of an Inſurrection of the *Narrhaganſets*, made them work Night and Day till it was finiſhed.

The next Harveſt afforded them a pretty tolerable Crop of Corn, yet not enough to laſt them the Year round, ſhould they huſband it ever ſo well; nor could they get a Supply from the neighbouring *Indians*, becauſe they had nothing to give in Exchange for it. But towards the End of the Year, there came in, by Accident, a ſmall trading Veſſel with good Quantity of *Engliſh* Beads, Knives, Sciſſars, *&c.* on Board; all which the Colony bought up with their Coat Beaver, at any Rate, by which they were enabled to trade with the *Indians* for Corn, and other Neceſſaries, and in a ſhort Time were plentifully ſupplied. Captain *Standiſh* was ſent out in the Shallop upon this Expedition; in which he met with this odd Adventure, which may give the Reader ſome Idea of the brutiſh Nature of theſe poor Savages: While the Captain went aſhore at *Noſſet* to barter with the Natives of thoſe Parts, one of them ſtole ſome of his Toys out of the Shallop. Upon which the Captain went to the *Sachem*, and demanded his Goods upon pain of military Execution, which terrified him to ſuch a Degree, that he came with his Attendants next Morning, and ſaluted the Captain in the moſt humble Manner, by putting out his Tongue that one might ſee the Root of it, and licking the Captain's Hands, all his Men doing the like. He then made him a Leg after an aukward Faſhion, as *Squanto* had inſtructed him, and reſtored the Toys, adding, that he had *much beaten* the Rogue that had ſtole them.

This Year *Squanto* died, who had been very ſerviceable as an Interpreter between the *Engliſh* and *Indians*. He bequeathed ſeveral Legacies among his *Engliſh* Acquaintance, and deſired the Governor to pray, *That he might go to the* Engliſhman'*s God in Heaven.*

Mr. *Weſton*'s Men, who ſettled in the *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay, (as above-mentioned) at a Place, by the *Indians*, called *Weſaguſquaſet*, now known by the Name of *Weymouth*, having lived in a riotous and diſorderly Manner, began now to be in Want of Proviſions. The Governor of *Plymouth* gave them all the Aſſiſtance he could, but they lived too faſt for Men that were to begin the World with a little. When they had barter'd away all their Goods for *Indian* Corn, they ſold their Cloaths and Bedding. Some of them became Servants to the *Indians*, and would cut their Wood and draw their Water for a Cap full of Corn; the major Part turn'd Robbers; but all was too little to ſupply their Wants. Some died with Hunger: One, as he was gathering Shell-fiſh, ſtuck faſt in the Mud, and being too weak to get out, periſh'd in the Place. The reſt left their Dwellings, and lived up and down in the Woods upon Ground-nuts and Clams, whereby they became the Scorn of the *Indians*, who inſulted them in a moſt barbarous Manner: For when they were dreſſing their Victuals, as ſoon as it was ready, the *Indians* would come and eat it up. If any of them had a ſorry Blanket to wrap himſelf in, the *Indians* would take it, and make him lie all Night in the Cold. Miſerable was the Condition they were reduced to! For as their Neceſſities forced them to ſteal from the *Indians*,

dians, the *Indians* made no Conſcience of plundering them, and had enter'd into a Conſpiracy to cut them all to Pieces; which had certainly taken Effect, had it not been timely diſcovered by the following Accident.

The Governor of *Plymouth* having received Advice, that *Maſſaſoiet*, their Friend and Ally was ſick, ſent Mr. *Winſlow* and Mr. *Hopkins* to viſit him; they found him, to all Appearance, in great Danger; but by giving him ſome Cordials he recovered in a few Days. The Prince took this Viſit ſo very kindly, that to make the beſt Return he could, he diſcovered the whole Plot of the *Maſſachuſet Indians*; adviſed them to loſe no Time, but ſeize the Heads of the Conſpirators immediately, or elſe *Weſton*'s Men would all be cut off; and ſo with freſh Aſſurances of Love and Friendſhip to the *Engliſh*, he diſmiſſed them.

On their Arrival at *Plymouth*, they acquainted the Governor with what they had heard, who immediately diſpatched away Captain *Standiſh* with eight Men. The Captain found the Remains of *Weſton*'s Men reduced to the laſt Extremities, the *Indians* being Maſters of their little Fort, and treating them as ſo many Slaves and Vaſſals; the Reaſon why they had not maſſacred them, being only this, that they were not in a Capacity to prevent Revenge that was to be expected from *Plymouth*. The Captain endeavour'd to conceal his Deſign in coming into theſe Parts: But the guilty Wretches ſuſpected their Plot was diſcovered, but reſolved to put the beſt Face on it they could, and try if they could fright him away. To which Purpoſe, their two Champions *Wituwamet* and *Peckſnot*, bragged of their Strength and Courage, and rallied the Captain on the Smallneſs of his Stature, whetted their Knives before his Face, and uſed ſeveral threatning Ge-

Geſtures and Actions. The Captain kept himſelf on the Reſerve for ſome Time: At length obſerving theſe two Hectors, and two more of their Companions in a Room by themſelves, went in to them with juſt the ſame Number of Men, and ordering the Door to be ſhut, fell himſelf upon *Peckſnot*, and after a long Struggle got him down and cut his Throat with his own long Knife. The *Engliſhman* who fought with *Wituwamet* killed him too, and ſo did the third; but the fourth Man, who was *Wituwamet*'s Brother, was taken alive, and afterwards hanged.

No ſooner was the Fall of theſe two Champions known, but a Body of *Indians* let fly a Shower of Arrows among the *Engliſh*. The Captain at the Head of his Men challenged their *Sachem* to ſingle Combat, but received no Anſwer; ſo he ordered his Men to fire upon them, which frighten'd them away into the Woods. Some Time after, the *Sachem* pleading Ignorance of what his Men had done, begged Pardon, and ſued for Peace, which was granted him; but a Year or two after, the Plague deſtroyed him and almoſt all his People, which opened the Way for the *Maſſachuſet* Settlement in the Year 1629. Captain *Standiſh* offered to conduct Mr. *Weſton*'s Men to *Plymouth*, where they might remain till they could agree how to diſpoſe of themſelves. They thank'd him for his Kindneſs, but begged him to ſupply them with a little Corn, and they would ſail away with their Veſſel to the Eaſtward to meet with Mr. *Weſton*, and if they miſſed him, to make the beſt of their Way to *England*. The Captain freely gave them all the Corn he could ſpare; ſo they ſhipped off their Effects, and went aboard; and when the Captain had ſeen them out of the Bay under Sail, he returned Home with the Head of *Wituwamet*, which was ſet upon the Fort.

Thus ended *Weſton*'s Settlement, which was ſet up in Oppoſition to *Plymouth*. Mr. *Weſton* was originally one of the *Plymouth* Adventurers, but had broke off from them, and ſet up for himſelf. He obtained a Patent for Part of *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay, under Pretence of propagating the Church of *England* Diſcipline in *America*; but his Men were ſo ſcandalouſly vile and wicked, that they became a Nuiſance to the very Savages, who would infallibly have cut them all off, had they not been prevented by the *Plymouth* Colony.

Soon after the breaking up of this Settlement, Mr. *Weſton* himſelf, with ſome Fiſhermen, arrived in the Bay, where he heard of the deplorable Fate of his Plantation; and the poor Man himſelf met with one not much better. For having loſt his Boat in a Storm, between *Merrimack* and *Paſcataqua*, he fell into the Hands of the Savages, who pillaged him of all that he had ſaved from the Sea, and ſtripped him to his very Shirt. At *Paſcataqua* he borrowed ſomething to cover his Nakedneſs, and in this Condition he came to *Plymouth*, and was ſaved from ſtarving by that very Colony, which he had a thouſand Ways endeavoured to deſtroy.

But to return to *Plymouth*: All Proviſions had hitherto been in common among the Planters; but Things being now a little more ſettled, the Governor divided to every Family a Portion of Land and Corn for their proper Uſe; which after ſome Time had a very good Effect: For when the People knew that the Produce of their Labour would be their own, it kindled an Emulation among them; ſo that the Fields were cleared, and a much greater Quantity of Corn planted next Year than would otherwiſe have been. But alas! while the Seed was in the Ground, the People were forced to live in a Manner without Bread; nor had they a Store of any other Sort of Proviſions, but depended entirely on their Labour and Induſtry: Their Boat and Net were conſtantly employed in catching Baſſe; when that fail'd, all Hands were employ'd in digging Ground-nuts and Shell-fiſh out of the Sands. Sometimes they ſhot a few Fowl, but they had no Cattle, nor any Kind of Roots to ſupply the Want of Bread. Beſides, they were in a very ragged Condition for want of Cloaths, thoſe they brought with them from *England* being quite worn out; ſo that if Hunger and Nakedneſs, in a Savage Country, are Characters of Miſery, it muſt be allowed the *New England* Planters were remarkably diſtinguiſhed by them.

But at length, about *Midſummer*, two Ships arrived from the Adventurers in *England*, with Supplies for the Plantation, the *Anne*, *William Pearſe*, Maſter, and the *James*, Mr. *Bridges*, Maſter; this laſt was a ſmall Veſſel of 44 Tons, built for the Service of the Planters, in the Coaſting-trade, and brought over ſeveral Paſſengers, who ſpent their Lives and Eſtates in promoting the Intereſts of the Colony.

About the Middle of *September*, another Attempt was made to begin a Settlement in the *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay, at the Place where *Weſton*'s Men broke up, by Captain *Gorges*, and ſeveral Families that came over with him; the Captain had a Commiſſion from the Council of *New England* to be General Governor of the Country; Captain *Francis Weſt*, *Chriſtopher Levett*, Eſq; the Governor of *Plymouth* for the Time being, and ſuch others as he ſhould approve, being appointed his Council; *with full Power to himſelf, and any Three of them, whereof him-*

himſelf to be One, to do and execute what to them ſhould ſeem good in all Cauſes, Capital, Criminal, and Civil. With him came over Mr. *Morrel*, a Miniſter, with an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion of Superintendent of the Churches, but he made no Uſe of it; nor was the Captain's Commiſſion very long-liv'd: All the Weight of it fell on the Head of poor *Weſton*; for the Captain meeting him at *Plymouth*, ſummoned him to appear before the Council, to anſwer ſuch Things as he ſhould lay to his Charge; which were the riotous Behaviour of his Men at *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay, by which the Peace of the Country was diſturbed, and the Plantation ruined; and his abuſing his Father Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, who had procur'd him a Licence from the King, to tranſport ſome Pieces of great Cannon for a Fort in *New England*, which he had ſold in Foreign Countries for his private Uſe, for which Sir *Ferdinando*, and the Council for *New England*, had been ſeverely reprimanded. *Weſton* anſwer'd to the firſt, that he thought he had ſufficiently ſmarted for that already; the ſecond he excuſed upon his Knees as well as he could; and the Captain, at the Interceſſion of the Governor of *Plymouth*, took his Bond for his Appearance, when called for; but the poor Man going for *England*, ſome Time after died at *Briſtol*, which put an End to all his Troubles. The Captain alſo imagining himſelf a greater Man than he was, and finding Things not anſwer his Expectations in this new World, left his Colony after a few Months, and returned to *England*, and his Biſhop followed him ſoon after; upon which the Plantation broke up, and went ſome to *England*, and the reſt to *Virginia*.

The Colony had been all this while without a Patent for their Lands: They had employed one *William Peirce* to ſolicit this Affair with the Grand

Council of *Plymouth*, and the Court of *England*; but he, like a Knave, procur'd the Patent to be made out in his own Name, reſerving to himſelf, and his Heirs, a vaſt Tract of Land, intending the Planters ſhould hold it as Tenants under him. He deſigned to go over himſelf with the Patent, and took on Board above an Hundred Paſſengers; but after he had put to Sea twice, he returned into Port with his Ship almoſt torn to Pieces in a Storm, which ſo diſcouraged him, that he aſſigned back his Patent to the Company, and reſolved to concern himſelf no farther in the Affair.

The Planters being adviſed of *Peirce*'s Treachery, ſent over Mr. *Edward Winſlow* laſt Year to obtain a Patent, which at laſt he effected, and brought over the Beginning of *March*; it was taken out in the Name of Mr. *William Bradford*, his Heirs, Aſſociates, and Aſſigns, by which Mr. *Bradford* was made Lord of the Country; but when the Number of Freemen increaſed, the General Court deſired him to ſurrender it into their Hands, which he generouſly did. Thus the Colony became a Kind of Republic by Patent from King *James* I. whereby they were empower'd to chuſe a Governor, Council, and General Court, with Power of making and executing all Laws that ſhould be judg'd neceſſary for the public Good, the Sovereignty being ſtill reſerved, by their Charter, to the Crown of *England*. By this Time the Number of Inhabitants being greatly increaſed, inſtead of one Aſſiſtant, which the Governor had before, he had five allowed him, and to himſelf the caſting Vote: In 1683, the Council was increaſed to ſeven, and ſo continued till their Charter was taken from them.

Mr. *Winſlow* brought over a conſiderable Supply for the Plantation, and among the reſt three Heifers and a Bull, which were the firſt Neat Cattle that came into *New England.* In the ſame Ship came over one *Lyford*, a Preacher, a crafty Knave, who, under the Cloak of Religion, and a profound Humility, ſo inſinuated himſelf into the Governor's Affection, that he conſulted him on the moſt important Affairs of State; till at length obſerving him to ſow Diſcontents among the People, he treated him with a little more Coldneſs. *Lyford*'s Deſign was to ruin the Reputation of the Colony with the Merchant-Adventurers in *England*, that ſo they might be afraid to trade with them any longer. The Governor did not ſuſpect his Deſign till the Return of the Ship for *England*, which brought them over, when he and one *Oldham* were obſerved to ſend away a large Pacquet of Letters, and drop ſome Words which gave Suſpicion of their carrying on a Correſpondence to the Prejudice of the Plantation. Upon which the Governor, under Pretence of going a League or two out to Sea in Company with the Ship, went aboard, and opening *Lyford*'s and *Oldham*'s Pacquet, took Copies of the moſt remarkable Letters, and ſent them forward to *England*, bringing back the Originals in his Pocket. *Lyford* and *Oldham* were all this while working up the People's Diſcontent, both as to the Government of the Church and Commonwealth; and when they thought their Party ſtrong enough, they ſet up a ſeparate Meeting on the Lord's Day. The Governor hereupon calling a General Council, charged them with ſeditious Practices tending to the Ruin of the Colony, which they ſtiffly denied; but their own Letters being produced againſt them in Court, *Lyford* was ſtruck dumb, and *Oldham*, like a Mad-man, called out to the People in a Rage, *My Maſters, where are your Hearts? Now ſhew your Courage; you have often*

often complained to me, now is the Time, if you will do any Thing I will ſtand by you. But nobody anſwered him; and the Court obſerving his inſolent Behaviour, ſentenced him to depart the Plantation immediately, and *Lyford* within ſix Months, and neither of them to return without Leave from the Governor. *Oldham*, however, had the Impudence to return next Year, and to intereſt himſelf in the Election of a Governor, but was arreſted, and made to run the Gauntlet between two Ranks of Muſketeers, who each of them gave him a Blow on the Breech with the Butt-End of their Muſkets, and was then ſent away. *Lyford* at ſix Months End, left the Colony, and went to *Virginia*, where in a little Time after he died.

But while this little Commonwealth was ſtruggling with Incendiaries within her own Bowels, the whole Settlement had like to have been deſtroy'd by a dreadful Fire, which broke out on the 5th of *November*, juſt againſt the Store-Houſe, where all their Proviſions were lodged; occaſioned by ſome Sailors making a larger Fire than ordinary in a Houſe where they were met to make merry together. Great was the Confuſion, which was augmented by a Suſpicion that there was Treachery in the Caſe; for when the Fire was got under at the Place where it began, a Smoak was ſeen to riſe out of a Shed that joined to the Storehouſe, which was made up of the Boughs of Trees; and upon Examination, a lighted Fire-brand of about an Ell long was found in it. However, no more Damage was done than the Loſs of three Houſes, with all the Goods that were in them, which indeed was the Ruin of thoſe Families, and occaſioned their Return to *England*.

The Colony at this Time (ſays Mr. *Smith*) conſiſted of 180 Perſons, who follow'd their ſeveral

Trades both by Sea and Land, but lived together, as yet, like one Family upon the common Stock; for tho' every Man had his Diviſion of Land, yet the Produce of it was put into the common Storehouſe, and divided out to each Family according to their Number. The Town conſiſted of thirty-two Dwelling-houſes, and was paled in about half a Mile in Compaſs; in the Midſt of the Incloſure, upon a riſing Ground, was the Fort, upon the Top of which was a Watch-Tower, from whence was a Proſpect of many Leagues out to Sea. They had made a Salt-work, and this Year freighted a Ship of 180 Tons with Fiſh cured with their own Salt. But notwithſtanding all this, the Adventurers, who were about ſeventy in Number, and had expended about 7000 *l.* upon the Settlement, began to be diſpirited; *Lyford*'s Letters had made an ill Impreſſion upon them, which, together with the ſmall Returns the Planters were capable of making, broke the Society in Pieces, and made the major Part of them reſolve to have nothing more to do with the Settlement, as not being willing to throw good Money after bad. This muſt have infallibly ruin'd the Plantation, if Providence had not given them ſuch a plentiful Harveſt this Summer, as was not only ſufficient for themſelves, but enabled them to begin a Trade with the *Indians.*

The Colony were Maſters but of two ſmall Shallops, one of which they cover'd with a Deck to keep the Corn dry, and ſent her a trading Voyage as far as *Kenebeck*, 50 Leagues to the Eaſtward; they had neither Pilot nor Sailors that underſtood the Working of a Ship, yet they made a proſperous Voyage and good Returns. Capt. *Standiſh* in the mean Time was ſent to *England*, with 800 Weight of Beaver, and a great Quantity of Fiſh and Furs for the Adventurers; but when they were got almoſt within Sight of *Plymouth*, one of the Ships was taken by a *Turkiſh* Man of War, and carried to *Sallee*, which put an End to all their Hopes of encouraging the Adventurers to trade with them, tho' the Captain did every Thing in his Power to perſuade them to it; but they were out of Humour, having before received ill Impreſſions from the Enemies of the Plantation, who had repreſented them as Monſters in Religion, and covetous deſigning Men in the Way of Trade, which made them put off the Captain with fair Promiſes, which they never intended to perform. The Planters were certainly under their Laſh, on Account of the Articles they ſigned with them at their firſt ſetting out, which made the Captain endeavour to bring them to a Compoſition; but the Plague being then in *London*, he could do but little towards it. Mr. *Allerton* went over about a Twelve-month afterward on the ſame Errand, and brought the Matter to a tolerable Iſſue, which was this, That, whereas by a former Agreement, the Adventurers had ſold all their Right to the Planters for 1800 *l.* which they were to pay by 200 *l.* a Year, they now agreed to abate Part of the Money, on Condition the Planters diſcharged the Remainder at once, which was accordingly done.

There was this Year another Attempt made to begin a Colony in the *Maſſachuſets*, by Capt. *Wollaſton*, and three or four more Gentlemen of Subſtance, who brought with them a great many Servants, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries for a Plantation. They pitched at a Place they called *Mount-Wollaſton*, now known by the Name of *Braintry*. The Captain continued ſome Time with his Colony, but finding the Difficulties of raiſing a Plantation greater than he imagined, he ſail'd with Part of his Servants to *Virginia*, and writ back to Mr. *Raſdale*, his Deputy, to bring another Part along with him, telling him, that the Men would turn to better Account there, than in *New England*. *Raſdale* appointed *Filcher* his Lieutenant; but when *Raſdale* was gone, Mr. *Morton*, who had a ſmall Share in the Plantation, took the Advantage of the Lieutenant's being out of the Way, to make the Company merry with Drink, and then addreſs'd them in the following Manner: "Gentlemen, you " ſee many of your Companions carried to *Viginia*, " and if you ſtay till *Raſdale*'s Return, you will " alſo be carried away and ſold for Slaves with the " reſt; therefore I would adviſe you to thruſt out " this Lieutenant *Filcher*, and I, having a Part in " the Plantation, will receive you as my Partners " and Conſociates; ſo you may be free from Servitude, and we will converſe, plant, trade, and " live together as Equals." Upon this, they turn'd Lieutenant *Filcher* out, to ſeek his Bread where he could find it; and *Morton* became their Sovereign Lord, leading them into all Sorts of Debauchery and Wickedneſs. They ſet up a May-pole, and danced about it, and drank ſtrong Liquors to ſuch an Exceſs, that they conſumed 10 *l.* worth in a Morning. To ſupport this Prodigality they ingratiated themſelves with the *Indians*, and taught them the Uſe of Fire-Arms, how to charge and diſcharge a Muſket, what Proportion of Powder to put in, and what Shot. *Morton* then exerciſed them, and ſent them out a Birding for him; ſo that in a little Time they became better Markſmen than the *Engliſh*, and being ſwift of Foot, were capable of doing more Execution. The *Indians* were ſo charm'd with this new Invention, that they threw away their Bows and Arrows, and gave any Price for Fire-Arms.

When the *Plymouth* Colony heard of this, they ſent Meſſengers to expoſtulate with him about it, putting him in Mind of the King's Proclamation, which forbids them trading with the *Indians* in any Sort of warlike Stores, and of the Inconveniencies that might attend the inſtructing them in the Art of War: But he inſolently replied, *That the King was dead, and his Diſpleaſure with him*; and threaten'd, *that if they came to moleſt him again, they ſhould look to themſelves.* Upon this they reſolved to reduce him by Force, and ſent Capt. *Standiſh* with a Party of Men to bring him dead or alive. *Morton* ſtood upon his Defence, barricado'd his Houſe, armed his Companions, and having heated them with Liquor, defied the Captain. The Captain however ventured up to the Door, and *Morton* coming out to make a Shot at him, he put by his Piece, and took him Priſoner, upon which the reſt ſurrender'd at Diſcretion. *Morton* was convey'd to *Plymouth*, and after ſome Time ſent to *England*, with Letters to the Council of *New England*, giving an Account of his Conduct; but little or no Notice was taken of it. He returned ſeveral Times after this into the Country, and at laſt ended his miſerable Life at *Paſcataqua*. And this was the End of *Wollaſton*'s Colony, after about two Years Stay at *Maſſachuſets*.

We have already obſerved in the Year 1623, that the Colony at *Plymouth* had made ſome ſmall Diſtribution of Land among the Planters, which was no more than an Acre a Man, beſides their Home-ſteads or Garden Plots; the Reaſon of which was, that they might keep together for their greater Safety and Defence againſt the common Enemy: But now their Numbers being increaſed, they ventured to ſpread themſelves farther into the Country, and the Government allotted to every one in each Family 20 Acres of Land, to be laid out five in Length by the Water-Side, and four in Breadth.

The *Dutch* had now perfected a Settlement on *Hudſon*'s River, and ſent Letters about this Time to the Colony at *Plymouth*, to begin a Correſpondence, and invite them to a Trade. Some Time after, they ſent their Secretary, Mr. *Iſaac de Roſier*, with Letters and Goods. The Governor received him with great Civility, and both Parties were pleaſed with the Exchange of their Merchandize; for the Secretary brought with him Beaver, and ſuch like Commodities, which they had bought of the Natives, and exchanged for Corn and Fiſh, which the Colony were at this Time very well provided with. This *Wampam-peag*, as the *Indians* call it, was of vaſt Advantage to the Natives, for the *Europeans* were ſo fond of it, that they purchaſed it at any Rate; the Sale of this made them grow rich and powerful, and furniſh'd them with all warlike Materials, as Guns, Powder, and Shot, whereby they became capable of making ſome Kind of a Stand againſt the Encroachments of the *Engliſh*.

From this View of the firſt Settlement in *New England*, we may obſerve, what numberleſs Difficulties, Dangers, and Hardſhips the Planters ſtruggled thro', before they were in a tolerable Condition to ſubſiſt themſelves without the Aid of their Friends in *England*. We have likewiſe ſeen ſeveral other Attempts made for the ſame Purpoſe, and in what Manner they fail'd; and that only the Colony of *Plymouth* was yet ſettled in thoſe Parts, till the Death of King *James* I. Afterwards, indeed, ſeveral more Colonies were planted, and Plantations were daily multiplied by the coming over of greater Numbers of People who fled from the Perſecutions of Biſhop *Laud* in *England*. But before we relate the further Progreſs of theſe Settlements, it's neceſſary to take a Step back, to ſee what was doing in *Virginia*, and other Places, during this Interval.

The Eſtabliſhment of a Colony in Virginia.

HAVING, in the preceding Section, given our Readers an Account of the ſeveral Attempts made for the Eſtabliſhment of a Colony in *New England*, with the Cauſes of their Miſcarriage, as likewiſe of their Succeſs afterwards; we ſhall now proceed to give an Account of the Settlement of a Colony in the more Southern Parts of *Virginia*, which, tho' it met with its Rubs and Diſcouragements, in the Beginning, as well as the former, was not, however, totally interrupted, but came, in the End, to Perfection.

The Merchants of *London*, *Briſtol*, *Exeter*, and *Plymouth*, were now very ſenſible what great Advantages were to be made by a Trade to *Virginia*, if it were well managed, and Colonies could be rightly ſettled; of which they had ſufficient Evidence, by the great Gains ſome Ships, which had met with no ill Accidents, had made. Encouraged therefore by this Proſpect, they joined in a Petition to his Majeſty, in which they ſet forth, That it was too much for any ſingle Perſon to attempt to ſettle Colonies, and carry on a conſiderable Trade. They therefore prayed his Majeſty to incorporate them, and enable them to raiſe a Joint-ſtock for that Purpoſe, and to countenance their Undertaking.

His Majeſty granted their Petition accordingly, and, by Letters Patent, bearing Date the 10th of *April*, 1606, incorporated them, in one Charter, into two diſtinct Colonies, to make two ſeparate Companies, as hath been already mentioned.

This Patent included *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and *Carolina*, as they are now diſtinguiſhed from each other, for the *London* Adventurers; and *New England*, *New York*, *New Jerſey*, and *Penſilvania*, as they are divided into ſeveral Provinces, for the *Plymouth* Adventurers; but the whole was then called *Virginia*.

By Virtue of this Patent, the *London* Company fitted out two Ships, under the Command of Captain *Newport*, accompanied by many Gentlemen, among whom were Captain *Goſnoll*, Captain *Smith*, Captain *Ratcliff*, Captain *Martin*, Captain *Kendal*, and Mr. *Wingfield*, which laſt ſix, together with Captain *Newport*, were, as it afterwards appeared, nominated to be a Council. Beſides theſe, they took a Miniſter, and Abundance of Handicraft Tradeſmen with them, making together above 100 Perſons.

The Company gave Captain *Newport* Orders, before he ſet out, which was not till the 19th of *December*, to ſail to that Part of *Virginia*, where Mr. *White* left his miſerable Company, tho' there was no Security of Harbour there. Captain *Smith*, whom the Company had taken into their Service, with a Reſolution to omit nothing that might contribute towards carrying on their Deſign with Vigour, was a noted Seaman, and had acquired great Reputation by his Adventures, and him they had made Pilot of this little Fleet. Yet, as good a Seaman as he was, he went the old round-about Way, by the *Weſtern* and *Caribbee* Iſlands, and paſſed his own Accounts in Navigation twice or thrice;

thrice; inſomuch that his Companions began to deſpair of reaching the Place they were bound for, and to think of returning to *England.* By good Fortune, when they were upon the Point of returning, Captain *Smith*, with two of his Veſſels, ſays my Author, (and conſequently he muſt have had more than two) luckily fell in with *Virginia*, or that Part of the Continent now ſo called, at the Mouth of *Cheſepeak* Bay, on the 26th of *April*, 1607. The firſt Place they landed upon, was the Southern Cape of that Bay, where they built a Fort, which they named Cape and Fort *Henry*, as they did the Northern, Cape *Charles*, in Honour of the two eldeſt Princes: And the firſt great River they ſearched, the *Indian* Name of which was *Powhatan*, they called *James-River*, after the King's own Name. Some of theſe Particulars have been mentioned before, the Repetition of which, in this Place, could not be avoided, in order to give a regular Account of the firſt Settlement in *Virginia.*

Having thoroughly ſearch'd the River, to find out a Place proper for a Settlement, they at length pitched upon a Peninſula, about 50 Miles up the River, which, beſides the Goodneſs of the Soil, was eſteemed as moſt fit, both for Trade and Security. Two Thirds of it is encompaſſed by the main River, which affords good Anchorage all along; and the other Third by a ſmall narrow River, capable of receiving ſeveral Veſſels of 100 Tons Burthen, quite up, till it comes within 30 Yards of the main River again, and where generally, in Spring-tides, it overflows into the main River.

They gave the ſame Name to the Town as to the River, *viz. James-Town.* The whole Iſland, thus incloſed, contains about 2000 Acres of high Land, and many Thouſand Acres of very good and firm

Marſh, and is exceeding good Paſture. By Means of the narrow Paſſage, this Place was of great Security to them from the *Indian* Enemy; and to ſtrengthen it the more, they built Caſtles and a Fort. This was the firſt Plantation of the *Engliſh*, and continues in the ſame Form to this Day.

They were no ſooner ſettled in this Happineſs and Security, than they fell into Quarrels and Diſſenſions among themſelves, by a greedy Graſping after the *Indian* Treaſure, envying and over-reaching one another in that Trade.

The Company was empowered by their Patent to chuſe a Preſident and Counſellors, to grant Commiſſions, and to execute judicial Authority. Accordingly they gave Commiſſion to the Gentlemen above-mentioned to eſtabliſh a Colony in their Territories, and to govern it by a Preſident, to be choſen annually, and a Council, who were inveſted with ſufficient Authority and Powers. But all theſe being ſent in a Box ſealed, with Orders not to be opened till they arrived in *Virginia*, they did not till then know who were to be the Council.

Captain *Smith* was of ſingular Service to this Colony; for which he was very ill requited. The Gentlemen, who went over with him, envied his Zeal and Experience, eſpecially in maritime Affairs, and uſed him ſo ill, that it was thought they intended to put him to Death. The chief Promoter of this Malice againſt him was Mr. *Wingfield*, whom they had elected their Preſident, a covetous haughty Perſon, who, while Captain *Smith* was trading and treating with the *Indian* Kings, was contriving his Ruin: Falſe Witneſſes were ſuborned to ſwear ill Deſigns againſt him, and he was not only refuſed Admittance into the Council, tho' he was nominated by the Company in *England*, but was thrown into Priſon, where he lay till the Forgeries of his Enemies were detected: But then he was elected a Member of the Council, and Mr. *Wingfield* being depoſed from his Preſidency, Captain *Ratcliff* was choſen in his Room, who being ſenſible of *Smith*'s Abilities, left the Adminiſtration of Affairs almoſt wholly to him.

After about five or ſix Week's Stay before this their intended Town, the Ships being diſpatched, Captain *Newport* departed with them for *England*, about the Middle of *June*, leaving upwards of an hundred Men, ſettled in the Form of Government above deſcribed. But when the Ships were gone, the ſame Feuds and Diſorders happen'd continually among them, to the unſpeakable Damage of the Plantation.

In the Midſt of theſe Feuds, however, they fell to Planting and Sowing, to Building and Fortifying; but above all, they carried on a very advantageous Trade with the *Indians*. They might, indeed, have made much greater Gains of it, and managed it much more to the Satisfaction of the *Indians*, as well as to the general Eaſe and Security of themſelves, if they had been under any Rule or ſubject to any Method in Trade, and not left to outvy and outbid one another. By this they not only leſſened their own Profit, but created Jealouſies and Diſturbances among the *Indians*, by letting one have a better Bargain than another. For they being unaccuſtomed to barter, ſuch of them as had been hardeſt dealt by in their Commodities, thought themſelves cheated and abuſed. Thence they conceived a Grudge againſt the *Engliſh* in general, and made it a national Quarrel; which ſeems to have been the original Cauſe of their ſubſequent Misfortunes by the *Indians*.

Theſe *Indians* proved much the ſame as they had been found in other Places; fair and friendly at firſt, but treacherous and deceitful in the Sequel.

However, it was chiefly by the Help of their Proviſions that the *Engliſh* ſubſiſted till the Return of their Ships the next Year, when two Ships were ſent thither, full freighted with Men and Proviſions, for the Supply of the Plantation. One of them only arrived directly, but the other being beat off to the *Caribbee* Iſlands, did not arrive till the former was ſailed back for *England*.

But what gave the greateſt Interruption to their Trade, was an Object which drew all their Eyes and Thoughts entirely, not only from that, but even from taking the neceſſary Care for their Preſervation, and for the Support of their Lives, which was this: They found in a Neck of Land, on the Back of *James*'s *Town-Iſland*, a freſh Stream of Water, ſpringing from a ſmall Bank, which waſhed down with it a yellow Sort of Duſt, like Iſinglaſs, which being cleanſed by the freſh Streaming of the Water, lay ſhining at the Bottom, and ſtirred up in them an unſeaſonable and inordinate Deſire of Riches: For they, taking all for Gold that gliſtered, run into the utmoſt Diſtraction, neglecting both the neceſſary Defence of their Lives from the *Indians*, and the Support of their Bodies, by ſecuring Proviſions, abſolutely relying on the almighty Power of Gold, imagining that where this was in Plenty, nothing could be wanting: Nay, they began to be ſo infatuated with the Hopes of Mountains of Wealth, that they deſpiſed the Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico*, in Compariſon of their own ineſtimable Stream. They ſoon, however, grew ſenſible of their Error, and found, that if this gilded Dirt had been really Gold, it could then have been of no Advantage to them: For, by their Negligence, they were reduced to an exceeding Scarcity of Proviſions, and that little they had was loſt by the Burning of their Town, while all Hands were employed upon this imaginary golden Treaſure: So that they were obliged to live, for ſome Time, upon the wild Fruits of the Earth, and upon Crabs, Muſſels, and ſuch-like, not having a Day's Proviſion before-hand. By this Neglect likewiſe, many of them became a Prey to the Cruelty of the *Indians*, and the reſt durſt not venture abroad; and ſo were forced to be content with what juſt fell into their Mouths.

In this miſerable Plight they were when the firſt of the two Ships arrived from *England* to their Aſſiſtance; but their golden Dreams overcame all Difficulties. They neither thought nor ſpoke of any Thing but Gold, and that was all the Loading that moſt of them were willing to take Care for. Accordingly they put into this Ship all the yellow Dirt they had gathered, and what Skins and Furs they had bartered for, and filling her up with Cedar, ſent her away. When the other Ship arrived, they ſtowed her likewiſe with this imaginary Gold Duſt, deſigning never to be poor again, and filled her up with Cedar and Clapboard.

Theſe two Ships being thus diſpatched, and the Heat of their Avarice beginning to cool, and ſome of the wiſer Sort beginning to ſuſpect, that all was not Gold that gliſtered, by the good Management and Direction of Captain *Smith*, they made ſeveral Diſcoveries in *James-River*, and up *Cheſepeak* Bay: And in the Year 1608, they firſt gathered *Indian* Corn of their own Planting.

While Captain *Smith* was out on his Expedition among the Savages, he was treacherouſly fallen upon by 300 of the *Indians*, under the Command of one of their Kings, called *Pamaunkee*, who put all his Men to Death, and, taking him Priſoner, carried him to *Pawhatan*, their chief

King, who would have put him to Death, had it not been for the Interceſſion of his Daughter *Pacahuntas*. Being releaſed, he returned to *James-Town*, where Mr. *Ratcliff* reſigning his Preſidentſhip, he was unanimouſly deſired to accept of that Office.

While theſe Diſcoveries were making by Captain *Smith*, Matters run again into Confuſion in *James-Town*; and ſeveral uneaſy People, taking Advantage of his Abſence, attempted to deſert the Settlement, and to run away with the ſmall Veſſel, which was left to attend upon it; for Captain *Smith* was the only Man among them who could manage the Diſcoveries with Succeſs, or who could keep the Settlement in any Order. Thus the *Engliſh* continued to give themſelves as much Perplexity by their own bad Conduct, as the *Indians* did by their Watchfulneſs and Reſentments.

However, amidſt all theſe Inconveniencies which they brought upon themſelves, the Plantation being increaſed to near 500 Men, they made two other Settlements, one at *Nanſamand*, in *James-River*, above 30 Miles below *James-Town*, and the other at *Pawhatan*, ſix Miles below the Falls of *James-River* (which laſt was bought of *Pawhatan*, a King of the Country, for a certain Quantity of Copper) each Settlement conſiſting of 120 Men, and ſoon after they made another Settlement at *Kignotan*, near the Mouth of *James-River*. From theſe ſmall Beginnings, *Virginia* roſe to the Figure it has ſince made in the *Britiſh* Commerce.

The *Virginia* Company in *London*, not finding the Return from their Colonies which they expected, and rightly judging it proceeded from a Miſmanagement in Government, petitioned his Majeſty, and got a new Patent, with Leave to appoint a Governor.

Upon this new Grant, they ſent out nine Ships with plentiful Supplies of Men and Proviſions, and made three joint Governors, or Commiſſioners, with equal Power, *viz.* Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Sommers*, and Captain *Newport*; and theſe agreed to go together in one Ship. This Ship was caſt away at *Bermudas*, as will be ſeen hereafter. In the mean Time, moſt of the other Ships, with their Paſſengers, arrived, but having no Head, and refuſing to ſubmit to any there, occaſioned ſuch Diſorders as had near ruined the whole Settlement, which, about the ſame Time, had loſt its beſt Support, Captain *Smith*, who had been obliged to return to *England* for Cure of a Hurt he had accidentally received by Gunpowder: And it is remarkable, that of 600 Men he had left there, when he departed, in ſix Months Time, no more remained than 60, the reſt having periſhed for Want of Neceſſaries, by their imprudent Management, and theſe too muſt have ſtarved, had their Relief been delayed eight Days longer.

In the Year 1610, arrived the Lord *Delaware*, who revived the expiring Settlement, and by his prudent Management, put it again upon a tolerable Footing.

In *May* or *June* 1611, Sir *Thomas Dale*, being then made Marſhal-General, arrived with three Ships, which brought Supplies of Men, Cattle and Hogs. He found them again growing into the like Diſorders as before, taking no Care to plant Corn, and wholly relying upon their Store, which then had but three Months Proviſions in it. He therefore ſet them to work about Corn, and tho' it was the Middle of *May* before they began to prepare the Ground, they had a pretty good Crop. From his Government and Care for the Good of the Colony, may the Proſperity of it be dated. Among other good Works, he built a new Town, called *Dale's Gift*, at his own Charge.

In *Auguſt*, of the ſame Year, Sir *Thomas Gates* arrived at *James-Town*, with ſix Ships more, and a plentiful Supply of Hogs, and 100 Head of Cattle, a great Number of Fowls, *&c.* with a good Quantity of Ammunition, Tools, and all Things neceſſary for a new Colony; with a Reinforcement of 350 choſen Men. In the Beginning of *September* he ſettled a new Town at *Arrahattack*, about 50 Miles above *James-Town*, paling in the Neck above two Miles from the Point, from one Reach of the River to the other. Here he built Forts and Sentry Boxes, and, in Honour of Prince *Henry*, called it *Henriopolis*; and alſo run a Palliſado on the other Side of the River, at *Coxendale*, to ſecure their Hogs. And now great Care began to be taken, both at Home and Abroad, for the future, as well as the preſent Happineſs of the Colony. Lands were cultivated, the Colonies ſpread, private Plantations were poſſeſſed, and in *England* great Collections were made for building Churches, founding Schools, endowing of Preachers, *&c.*

In the Year 1612, two Ships arrived with Supplies; and Captain *Argall*, who commanded one of them, being ſent in her to *Potowmeck*, to buy Corn, he there met with *Pocahuntas*, the excellent Daughter of *Powhatan:* And having prevailed with her to come on Board to a Treat, he detained her Priſoner, and carried her to *James-Town*, deſigning to make Peace with her Father, by her Releaſe. *Smith* ſays, ſhe was betrayed on Board by her Uncle, who ſold her for a Copper Kettle. But be that as it will, the Prince highly reſented the Affront, and tho' he loved his Daughter with a paternal Tenderneſs, yet he would not be brought to Terms by that unhandſome Treachery, till about two Years after, a Marriage being propoſed between Mr. *John Rolfe*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman, and this Lady, which *Powhatan* taking to be a ſincere Token of Friendſhip, he vouchſafed to conſent to it, and to conclude a Peace, tho' he would not come to the Wedding.

Pocahuntas being thus married in 1613, a firm Peace was concluded with her Father; and both the *Engliſh* and *Indians* thought themſelves ſecure and quiet. This brought in the *Chick-a-hominy Indians* alſo, tho' not out of any Kindneſs or Reſpect for the *Engliſh*, but out of Fear of being, by their Aſſiſtance, brought under *Powhatan*'s abſolute Subjection, who uſed, now and then, to threaten and tyrannize over them.

Sir *Thomas Dale* returning in 1616, to *England*, took with him Mr. *Rolf*, and his Wife *Pocahuntas*, who, upon the Marriage, was chriſten'd, and called *Rebecca*.

Some Time before Sir *Thomas*'s Departure, the *Spaniards*, it ſeems, had formed a Deſign upon the Colony. A Ship of that Nation beating about, before *Cape Comfort*, ſent a Boat aſhore, deſiring a Pilot; and one being ſent them, he was no ſooner in their Boat, than they carried him off, leaving three of their Companions behind them. This cauſing ſome Diſtruſt, theſe Men were ſtrictly examined. All they would at firſt own was, that having loſt their Admiral, Accident had forced them into thoſe Ports, and that two of them were Captains in the Fleet. At laſt it appeared, that one of them was an *Engliſhman*, who had been Pilot to the *Spaniſh Armada* in 1688, and had now induced ſome Malecontents in *Virginia* to join in Confederacy with him, to carry off a ſmall Bark. The Plot being diſcovered, they were apprehended,

prehended, and ſome executed. Our *Engliſh-Spaniard*, expecting the ſame Fate, confeſſed that two or three *Spaniſh* Ships were at Sea purpoſely to diſcover the State of the Colony; but their Commiſſion was not to be opened till they arrived in the Bay, ſo that he could not tell wherein it particularly conſiſted. One of the *Spaniards* died, and the other was ſent to *England*; but the *Engliſhman* was reprieved, till Sir *Thomas Dale* (for what Reaſon is not mentioned) hanged him at Sea, in his Voyage homewards.

Capt. *Smith* no ſooner heard of *Pacahunta*'s Arrival in *England*, than he was thoughtful to ſhew his Gratitude for the many Obligations he had to her; and he believed he could not do it more effectually than by making Intereſt to recommend her to the Queen's Favour. This ſuceeded, for having, in a Petition to her Majeſty, ſet forth her good Qualities, and the Obligations which the *Engliſh* Nation in general, and he, in particular, had to her, ſhe had many Honours ſhewn her by the Queen.

She was introduced by the Lady *Delaware*, and was frequently admitted to her Majeſty's Preſence. She was publickly entertained as a Prince's Daughter, and was carried to Plays, Balls, and other public Entertainments, and very reſpectfully received by all the Ladies about Court. She behaved herſelf, on all Occaſions, with ſo much Decency, and ſhew'd ſo much Grandeur in her Deportment, that ſhe made good the brighteſt Part of the Character Capt. *Smith* had given of her.

Every Body paid this young Lady all imaginable Reſpect; and it was believed, ſhe would have ſufficiently acknowledged thoſe Favours, had ſhe lived to return to her own Country, by bringing the *Indians* to have a kinder Diſpoſition towards the

Engliſh. But on her Return, ſhe was unfortunately taken ill at *Graveſend*, and died in a few Days after, giving great Teſtimony, all the Time ſhe lay ſick, of her being a very good Chriſtian. She left one Son, called *Thomas Rolf*, whoſe Poſterity is at this Day in good Repute in *Virginia*, and now holds Lands by Deſcent from her.

The Year following, Sir *Samuel Argall* was made Governor of *Virginia*, and on his Arrival there, found the Number of the *Engliſh* reduced to little more than 400, of whom not above half were fit for Labour. In the mean while the *Indians*, mixing among them, got Experience daily in Fire-Arms, and ſome of them were inſtructed therein by the *Engliſh* themſelves, and employ'd to hunt and kill Wild-fowl for them. So great was their Security upon the Marriage: But Governor *Argall*, not liking theſe Methods, regulated them at his Arrival; and by his Care, not only made the Colony flouriſh and increaſe mightily, but kept them in Plenty and Quiet.

In the Year 1618, the Lord *Delaware* was again ſent to *Virginia* with 200 Men more for the Settlement, and all Neceſſaries ſuitable; but 30 of them died by the Way; of whom the Lord *Delaware* himſelf was one. This Year died likewiſe the King *Powhatan*; but this made no Alteration to the *Engliſh*, his Succeſſor having renewed the Peace with them.

Governor *Argall*, having no Fear of Diſturbance from the *Indians*, ſought new Opportunities of encouraging the Plantation. For this Purpoſe he intended a coaſting Voyage to the Northward, to view the Places where the *Engliſh* had ſo often landed; and if he miſſed them, to reach the Fiſheries of *Newfoundland*, and to ſettle a Trade or Correſpondence with the one or the other. Touching at *Cape Cod*, he was informed by the *Indians*, that ſome white People, like him, were come to inhabit to the Northward of them, upon the Coaſt of their neighbouring Nations. Capt. *Argall* not having heard of any *Engliſh* Plantation, that Way, was jealous that it might be (as it proved) the People of ſome other Nation; and being very zealous for the Honour and Benefit of *England*, he reſolved to make Search according to the Information he had received, and ſee who they were. Accordingly he found a Settlement, and a Ship riding before it, belonging to ſome *Frenchmen*, who had fortified themſelves upon a ſmall Mount, on the North of *New England*. He ſoon took the Ship, and then went to the Fort, the Garriſon of which fled to the Woods; but the next Day, they not only ſurrendered themſelves, but delivered up the Patent, which had been granted them by the King of *France*, into Capt. *Argall*'s Hands, to be cancelled.

A Jeſuit, who was among the *French*, told the Captain of another *French* Settlement at *Port-Royal*, in *Canada*, and offered to pilot him thither. The Captain accepted his Offer, and being come thither, diſpoſſeſſed them of that Settlement likewiſe, where they had not only ſowed and reaped, but built Barns, Mills, and other Conveniencies.

The Report of theſe Exploits ſoon reached *England*; where, 'tis probable, they were not well approved; for in *April* 1619, a ſmall Veſſel arrived at *Virginia*, which, without ſtaying for any Thing elſe, took the Governor on Board, and returned to *England*; and no other Occaſion of his Recal being known, it is probable the *French* bullied the King into it.

The great Increaſe of the People of *Virginia*, and the long Quiet they had enjoy'd among the

Indians, ſince the Marriage of *Pachahuntas*, lulled them into a fatal Security. They became every where familiar with them, eating, drinking, and ſleeping amongſt them, and permitting the ſame from them; by which they became perfectly acquainted with the whole Strength of the *Engliſh*, and the Uſe of their Arms. They knew, at all Times, when and where to find them, whether at Home or in the Woods, in Bodies or diſperſed, in Condition of Defence or indefenſible. This made them begin to think more contemptibly of the *Engliſh*, and for that Reaſon became more peeviſh, and more hardy to attempt any Thing againſt them.

Thus, upon the Loſs of one of their Captains, who indeed was ſhot by two *Engliſh* Boys, for his having murder'd their Maſter, they took Affront, and, in Return, laid a Plot for a general Maſſacre of the *Engliſh*, to be executed on the 22d of *March*, in 1622, a little before Noon, at a Time when they were all at Work in their Plantations, diſperſed and unarmed. This helliſh Contrivance was to take Effect upon all the ſeveral Settlements, at one and the ſame Inſtant, except on the Eaſtern Shore, whither this Plot did not reach.

The *Indians* had been made ſo familiar with the *Engliſh*, as to borrow their Boats and Canoes to croſs the River in, when they went to conſult with their neighbouring *Indians* upon this execrable Conſpiracy. And the better to colour their Deſign they brought Preſents of Deer, Turkies, Fiſh and Fruits to the *Engliſh* the Night before. The very Morning of the Maſſacre, they came freely and unarmed among them, eating with them, and behaving with the ſame Freedom and Friendſhip as formerly, till the very Minute they were to put their Plot in Execution. Then they fell to Work all at once, every-where, knocking the *Engliſh* unawares on the Head, ſome with their Hatchets, others with the Hows and Axes, of the *Engliſh* themſelves, ſhooting at thoſe who eſcaped the Reach of their Hands, ſparing neither Age nor Sex, but deſtroying Man, Woman, and Child. However, what was not done by Surprize this Day, was left undone, and many, who made early Reſiſtance, eſcaped.

By the Account taken of the Chriſtians murder'd that Morning, they were found to be 347, moſt of them falling by their own Inſtruments or working Tools. This Maſſacre had been more general, had not the Plot been providentially diſcovered to the *Engliſh*, by a faithful *Indian*, to his Maſter, Mr. *Pace*, in the Night, before the fatal Morning; by which Means, *James-Town*, together with the Plantations thereabouts, as could receive Notice Time enough, were ſaved. From this Time, the *Engliſh* were ſo enraged at the Natives, that they never gave over warring with them, till they had almoſt wholly extirpated the Nations that were concerned in the Maſſacre.

After the Maſſacre in *Virginia*, ſeveral *Engliſh* Families, retiring from thence, were driven on the Coaſt of *Carolina*, and ſettled in the Province of *Mallica*, near the Head of the River *May*, where they acted the Part of Miſſionaries among the *Mallicans* and *Apalachites*; and the King of the Country is ſaid to have been baptized. Upon this Occaſion it was, that the *Engliſh* firſt made any Settlement on this Part of the Continent: But more of this hereafter.

Thus have we given a ſuccinct and uninterrupted Account of the firſt Settlement of the *Engliſh* in *Virginia*, and the various Accidents and Events that befel them in the Courſe of their Attempts,

tempts, till they had got a pretty ſure Footing on that Part of the Continent; which brings their Affairs down to the Death of King *James.* In the next Reign we ſhall have Occaſion to viſit them again. Mean while, we muſt return back to relate ſuch other remarkable Tranſactions as have occurred at Sea, in other Parts, during that Time.

HUDSON's *Voyages of Diſcovery towards the* North-Pole.

IN the Year 1607, Mr. *Henry Hudſon* ſet Sail, on the firſt of *May*, from *Graveſend*, with only one Ship, and, beſides himſelf, ten Men and a Boy, on a Voyage of Diſcovery towards the *North-Pole*, at the Charge of certain Merchants of *London.* The 27th of *June*, they diſcried *Greenland.* The Ice lay very thick along the Shore, and having a fair Wind, they coaſted it in a ſmooth Sea, without Ground, at 100 Fathom four Leagues from the Shore. They reckoned themſelves to be in 78 Deg. and not far from *Vogel Hook.* The 14th of *July*, they came into the Bay, which has ſince bore his Name, at the Mouth of which they had 30 Fathom Water, then 26, but further in, had no Ground at two Fathom, and therefore judged it rather a Sound than a Bay. On the South-ſide lay three or four ſmall Iſlands or Rocks. The 15th, being clear Weather, they ſaw the High-land of *Greenland*, at 20 Leagues Diſtance from them, to the N. E. and by their Account, the Northern Part of the Land, which they then ſaw, ſtretched into 81 Deg. The 16th, having run towards the fartheſt Part of the Land they had diſcovered, they could diſcern more Land joining to the ſame, ſtretching into 82 Deg. and by the Bowing and Shewing of the Sky much farther. The Abundance of the Ice to the Northward, which joined to the Land, hindering them from proceeding farther, they bore up the Helm, and, returning, arrived in the *Thames* the 15th of *September*.

It is pretended, that this Streight and Bay, which bear *Hudſon*'s Name, were firſt diſcovered by a *Dane*, who gave them the Name of *Chriſtiana*, from *Chriſtian* IV. King of *Denmark*, then reigning. But Captain *Hudſon* was, at leaſt, the firſt Man who diſcovered it to the *Engliſh*, and who, indeed, firſt ventur'd ſo near the Bottom of the Bay, as he did within a Degree or two. In this Voyage he gave Names to ſeveral Places, which they have retain'd to this Day; as *Whale-Bay*, *Hackluit*'s *Headland*, *Hudſon*'s *Touches*, &c.

Mr. *Hudſon* undertook a ſecond Voyage, and ſet Sail from *St. Catharine*'s, with fifteen Perſons in his Company, for finding a Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the North-Eaſt. The Account we have of it in *Purchas* and *Harris*, being little more than a Seaman's Journal, which would be but tedious to the Readers, we ſhall only inſert one Paragraph, to which they are at Liberty to give ſuch Credit as they imagine the Novelty of the Thing deſerves.

On the 15th of *June* (ſay theſe Journaliſts) one of our Company looking over-board, ſaw a Mermaid, and calling up ſome of the Company to ſee her, one more came up, and ſhe was then cloſe to the Ship-ſide, looking earneſtly on the Men. Soon after a Sea came and over-turned her. From the Navel upwards, her Back and Breaſts were like a Woman's, her Body as big as one of us, her Skin very White, and long black Hair hanging down be-

behind. In her going down they ſaw her Tail, like the Tail of a Porpoiſe, and ſpeckled like a Mackrel. The Men's Names who ſaw her, were *Thomas Hills* and *Robert Rayner*. *Hudſon* returned from this Voyage the 26th of *Auguſt*.

The Year following, Mr. *Hudſon* attempted a third Voyage towards *Nova Zembla*; in which, after having had a Sight of the North Cape of *Finmark*, he ſailed to *Newfoundland*, Cape *Cod*, and *Virginia*.

On the 17th of *April*, 1610, Mr. *Hudſon* ſailed from *St. Catharine*'s on his fourth and laſt Voyage, for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage. Of this Voyage, in which they were obliged to winter in that unfriendly Climate, *Purchas* and *Harris* have given a very long Narrative; but as it is chiefly filled with the Differences between *Hudſon* and his Men, and an Account of his Mate *Ivet*, and others of the Ship's Company, which coſt him his Life, we omit the Particulars; eſpecially as this Voyage affords no new Diſcoveries, only that he proceeded 100 Leagues farther than any Man had ever done before him, and gave new Names to ſeveral Places.

HARCOURT'S *Voyage to* GUIANA.

THIS Voyage was performed under the Direction and Command of *Robert Harcourt*, of *Stanton Harcourt*, in the County of *Oxford*, Eſq; and the Veſſels employed in it were the *Roſe*, of 80 Tons, the *Patience*, a Pinnace, of 36, and the *Lilly*, a Shallop of 9 Tons. In the *Roſe*, with Mr. *Harcourt*, were Captains *Fiſher* and *Harvey*, and

Meſſ. *Gifford* and *Thomas Harcourt*, with thirty-one Gentlemen and others, Landmen, two *Indians*, and 23 Mariners. In the *Patience*, Mr. *Harcourt*'s Brother, Captain *Michael Harcourt*, with twenty Gentlemen and others, Landmen, and eleven Mariners; and in the *Lilly*, the Maſter, one Landman, and two Sailors: So that the whole Company conſiſted of 97 Perſons, whereof 60 were Landmen. Being thus embarked, they ſet Sail from *Dartmouth* the 23d of *March*, 1609. We ſhall omit the Circumſtances of the Voyage, and join them on the Coaſt of *Guiana*.

Where being arrived the 17th of *May*, in the Bay of *Wiapoco*; it was not long before ſeveral Canoes of *Indians* came to ſee who and what they were, and finding they were *Engliſh*, came on Board them without any Fear or Ceremony. Such an Idea had Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by his courteous and upright Behaviour, imprinted on them of the *Engliſh* Nation. Theſe People, who were forward and ready to traffick with the *Engliſh*, were of the Town called *Caripo*, on the Eaſt Side of the Hill, at the Mouth of *Wiapoco* River. Their King, or Chief Lord, who had been ſome Years in *England*, was then with Mr. *Harcourt*, and, with another of his Countrymen, came Paſſengers with him, tho' he had not diſcovered his Quality, till the Joy of his Subjects, at the Sight of him, made him known. Among the *Indians*, who came firſt on Board, was one who ſpoke the *Engliſh* Tongue perfectly well, and was known to ſome of the Ship's Company, having ſerved Sir *John Gilbert*, in *England*, many Years. And the *Indian*, who accompanied the King or Chief, having been fourteen Years in *England*, theſe two were of ſingular Service to the *Engliſh*.

The firſt Ceremonies being paſt, Mr. *Harcourt* acquainted them, that the Occaſion of his coming among them was, to ſettle a Colony there, and to take Poſſeſſion for the King of *England*, by Virtue of a Grant of it, by them, to Captain *Leigh*, and by ſome of their Countrymen before to Sir *Walter Raleigh*; aſſuring them, however, at the ſame Time, that his Majeſty intended no unjuſt Uſurpation over them, nor to treat them, in any Way, like Slaves and Vaſſals; but only to be their Friend and Protector, and to deliver them from the Inſolencies and Oppreſſions of the *Caribbees*. After ſome Debate, the *Indians* gave their Conſent that they might live amongſt them, and promis'd to furniſh them with Houſes, and all other Neceſſaries as far as they were able, but could not forbear expreſſing ſome Diffidence in their performing their Promiſes, ſince Sir *Walter Raleigh* had been ſo dilatory in his.

This being done, they all went aſhore, where they met with the beſt Reception the *Engliſh* could give them, and were diſperſed up and down the Town, on the Side of the Hill, while their Ships rode at Anchor at the Foot of it. The great Rains, which confined them near a Month, being ceaſed, the Captain ſet himſelf to diſcover the Golden Mountain, which had been the Spurs to this Undertaking: But their Guide, who had promiſed ſuch great Things during the Voyage, failed in the Performance of them, and either wilfully deceived them, or had been deceived himſelf; for when he came to the Spot he had built his Hopes upon, nothing was to be found. And yet they were convinced that the Country afforded Gold, as well by the Aſſurances given them by the Natives, who ſhewed them certain Images, which, upon an Eſſay, appeared, at leaſt, one third Gold, as by occular

Demonſtration of great Quantities of the white Spar, in which the Gold engenders, and which they found to contain both Gold and Silver. But they had Reaſon to believe that theſe Mines lay too far up in the higher Parts of *Guiana*, and, perhaps, too ſtrongly guarded, for them to hope getting at them: And beſides, they had then neither Time nor Power to ſearch into the Bowels of the Earth for the Mines.

This Diſappointment had like to have bred a Mutiny among thoſe who came out with no other View than to plunge at once into Riches: But the Captain, with great Prudence and good Conduct, prevented its running to ſuch a Length; and, to keep them employed, not only went himſelf up the River *Wiapoco*, upon Diſcovery, but ſent his Brother, with ſome others, on the ſame Errand, to the River *Arrawary*, and the Country bordering upon it, which adjoins to the River of *Amazons*. He went alſo and took Poſſeſſion of the Mountain *Gomeribo*, which is the uttermoſt Point of Land to the Northward, in the *Wiapoco*. This he did, by the cuſtomary Ceremony of Twig and Turf, in Preſence both of his own People, and the *Indians*.

After Poſſeſſion taken, the Mountain was delivered over to an *Indian*, to hold and poſſeſs the ſame, for himſelf and his Heirs, of his Majeſty, *James*, King of *England*, paying the annual Duty of a tenth Part of all Tobacco, Cotton, Wool, Annoto, and other Commodities, growing within the Limits of the ſame.

The Attempt of the Captain's Brother, and Captain *Harvey*, in diſcovering of the River *Arrawary*, was attended with great Difficulties and Hazards: For the Length they run by Sea to this River, was near a hundred Leagues, thro' terrible Breaks upon the Flats and Shoals. They went likewiſe 50 Leagues up the River, and all this only with flat-bottom'd Canoes, ſomething longer than the *Thames* Wherries, but not near ſo broad.

The *Indians* they met with up this River, plainly diſcover'd they had never ſeen a *European* Face before. It was long before they could be brought to any Sort of Trade or Converſation with them, tho' they had other *Indians* in their Company. But at laſt, the Sight of their Toys wrought upon them, and induced them to come to ſome Terms for Proviſions; a Want of which, however, at laſt, oblig'd them to return to *Wiapoco:* But, firſt, took Poſſeſſion of the Country, in Form, as Mr. *Harcourt* had done of *Gomeribo.*

Not long after this, Mr. *Harcourt* was obliged to return for *England*, purely for Fear of wanting Caſks to contain ſufficient Beer and Water for the Voyage; the Maſter having neglected to have his Caſks Iron-bound before their Departure, which occaſioned many of them to burſt their Hoops in that hot Country. Mr. *Harcourt* left his Brother to command in Chief, in his Abſence, to whom Captain *Harvey* was joined as Aſſiſtant, and Mr. *Gifford* as his Lieutenant, and with them he left 50 or 60 of his Men, and departed the 18th of *Auguſt.*

Mr. *Harcourt*, in his Way homewards, made ſeveral Diſcoveries on the Coaſt, and in ſome of the Rivers, (a particular Account of which would be too tedious here) and returned ſafe to *England*, arriving in *Ireland* the 29th of *November*. Being come to *London*, he obtained, by the Favour of Prince *Henry*, a Patent, for all that Coaſt, called *Guiana*, together with the famous River of *Amazons*, to him and his Heirs: But he was not able to ſupply his Colony, and only ſent over ſome few Paſſengers, with certain *Dutchmen*, but to little Purpoſe. And thus this Buſineſs lay dead again for ſeveral Years, till Sir *Walter Raleigh* revived it in 1617, as before related: See Vol. I. p. 170. Captain *Harcourt*, however, kept Poſſeſſion full three Years, and, in that Time, loſt ſix of his Men.

The Plantation of the Bermudas, *or* Summer-Iſlands.

KING *James* I. having granted his Patent to Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Sommers*, and other Gentlemen, to plant a Colony in *Virginia*, they ſet Sail with a handſome Fleet, furniſhed with all Sorts of Proviſions and Neceſſaries for that Purpoſe; but in their Paſſage were ſeparated by Storm, by which the two Knights were drove to the *Bermudas*. But this was not the firſt Time an *Engliſhman* had ſet Footing here; for the Diſcovery of theſe Iſlands, by theſe two worthy Knights, was in 1609; but one of our Countrymen had been here in 1593. The Name of this Perſon was *Henry May*, one of Capt. *Lancaſter*'s Company, who had been in the *Eaſt Indies*, and in his Return put over to *Trinidado*, and ſo to *Porto-Rico* and *Hiſpaniola*, for Refreſhment: Here Capt. *Lancaſter* deſiring M. *Barbotiere*, a *Frenchman*, to give this *May* a Paſſage home in his Ship, by the Way they were wreck'd upon the *Bermuda* Iſlands. *May* coming to *England* in 1594, no Doubt told his Adventure; yet we don't find there was any Motion made towards the ſending a Colony to thoſe Iſlands till ſome Years after; when Sir *George Som-*

mers and Sir *Thomas Gates* ſuffering the ſame Fate there, revived the Diſcourſe of them; yet no Body thought it worth their while to adventure thither, till after Sir *George*'s ſecond Landing, and breathing his laſt there.

The Ship, in which theſe two Gentlemen were, being drove aſhore and ſtaved at the *Bermudas*, tho' the Crew were all ſaved, and they with them; their firſt Concern was, how to get from the Iſland again; ſeveral Projects were thought of, but the Concluſion was, to deck their Long-boat with their Ship's Hatches, and ſend her away with nine able Seamen to *Virginia*, to get Shipping from thence; but they were never heard of more.

During their Stay here, two Women, who were Paſſengers, were deliver'd, the one of a Boy, the other of a Girl; the firſt was chriſten'd *Bermudas*, the other *Bermuda*. The two Knights, notwithſtanding the Dangers they had lately run, were always jangling, and having perpetual Quarrels among themſelves, formed Factions among their Men too. Theſe run to ſuch a Height, that they would not embark in the ſame Veſſel. So they built each of them one of Cedar, (one of which they called the *Patience*, the other the *Deliverance)* picking up the Furniture of their old Ship for Rigging; and inſtead of Pitch and Tar, made uſe of Fiſh-oil and Hog's Greaſe, mixed with Lime and Aſhes.

Theſe Ships being ready, they ſet Sail in them, the 11th of *May*, 1610, having 150 Men in their Company, and in fourteen Days arrived at *Virginia*, where Sir *George Sommers* being made Admiral, was ſent by the Lord *Delaware*, then Governor, to *Bermudas*, to fetch ſome Proviſions that Place afforded, eſpecially Hogs and Turtles.

Sir *George* miſſed the Coaſt, and fell in with that of *Sagadahoc* in *Norembegua*, where he took in freſh

Water and Proviſions, and proceeded in Search of theſe pleaſant and fruitful Iſlands. At length he found them; and being extremely harraſſed with the Fatigues of the Sea, above what his advanced Years, being then above threeſcore, would bear, he died as ſoon as he came aſhore. He enjoined his Men to return to *Virginia*; but, after his Death, they took another Reſolution, and ſtoring their Cedar Ship with ſuch Proviſions as they had, ſet Sail for *England*. Theſe Perſons, at their Return, gave ſuch an advantageous Account of the Country to the *Virginia* Company, that they thought it worth their while to eſtabliſh a Correſpondence between it and *England*. Accordingly they ſold theſe Iſlands to a hundred Perſons of the ſame Society, who obtained a Charter of King *James*, and became Proprietors of them. Of this new erected Company, Sir *Thomas Smith* was the firſt Treaſurer and Governor there.

It is ſaid, that when Sir *George Sommers* was firſt here, two of his Men ſtay'd behind him, having committed ſome Crime, for which they would have ſuffered Death, if they had gone to *Virginia*. They were ſtill here when Sir *George* returned, and had built them a Hut on *St. George*'s Iſland. Theſe two Men, whoſe Names were *Chriſtopher Carter* and *Edward Waters*, ſtayed ſtill behind, when Sir *George*'s ſecond Company departed, of whom they perſuaded one *Edward Chard* to remain there with them. And now they were ſole Lords of the Country; but, like other Sovereigns, Power and Ambition ſet them together by the Ears among themſelves. *Chard* and *Waters* were coming to a pitched Battle; but *Carter*, tho' he equally hated them both, yet not liking to be left alone, prevented it, by threatning to declare againſt the Man, who ſtruck the firſt Blow.

Neceſſity at laſt made them good Friends, and they joined together in making Diſcoveries. In one of their Expeditions, they found the greateſt Piece of Ambergris among the Rocks, that ever was ſeen in one Lump, weighing 80 Pounds, beſides ſmaller Pieces. This Treaſure, in Value nine or ten thouſand Pounds, made them almoſt mad. Their Heads turn'd giddy at the Thoughts of it; and that they might have an Opportunity of reaping the Benefit of it, they reſolved on the moſt deſperate Attempt that Men in Diſtraction could run upon, which was to build a Boat after the beſt Manner they could, and ſail to *Virginia* or *New-foundland*, according as Wind and Weather ſhould preſent.

Before they could put this extraordinary Project in Execution, a Ship arrived from *England*: For Captain *Matthew Sommers*, Sir *George*'s Brother, had promiſed to come to them, or ſend a Veſſel to their Relief, or they had not ſtaid, neither the firſt Time nor the laſt.

The Ship they diſcovered, ſtanding in with the Shore, was the *Plough*, which had 60 Perſons on Board, ſent by the new *Bermudas* Company, to make a Settlement, over whom they had placed Mr. *Richard Moor* for Governor, an honeſt induſtrious Perſon.

He pitched upon a Plain in *St. George*'s Iſland, to ſettle on, and there firſt built himſelf a Houſe, or rather a Cabin of Palmeto Leaves, large enough for him, his Wife and Family; and the reſt of the Adventurers following his Example, it became a Sort of Town, which, in Time, grew to a conſiderable Bigneſs, and is now *St. George*'s Town, one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt built in all our *American* Plantations, the Houſes being of Cedar, and all the Forts of hewn Stone, according to the firſt Model made by Mr. *Moor*.

In the firſt Year of his Government another Ship arrived, with a Recruit of Proviſions, and thirty Paſſengers. By this Time he had found out the Booty of Ambergris, which *Carter*, *Waters*, and *Chard* had concealed; for one of them having diſcovered it, the Governor ſeiz'd it as belonging to the Proprietors. He ſent one Third of it to the Company at *London*, by the Ship which brought the Supply, and the reſt by the next Opportunity, in the ſame Proportions, which gave ſuch Encouragement to the Adventurers, that they continued to ſupply them with Proviſions, Stores, and more Company, till they were in a Condition to defend and ſupport themſelves by their own Strength and Plantation; while Mr. *Moor*, on his Side, made them very good Returns in Ambergris, Drugs, Cedar, Tobacco, and other Products of the Iſland. And this was the firſt Beginning of this Colony.

Mr. *Moor* continued there three Years, being relieved from Time to Time, till they amounted to above 600 Inhabitants; but had like to have been themſelves deſtroyed by an infinite Number of Rats, which increaſed from a few coming aſhore out of a Ship, and continued for four Years, devouring all the Growth of the Country, notwithſtanding all poſſible Means were uſed to deſtroy them. They diſappeared, however, at length, as ſtrangely as they at firſt increaſed, no Body knew how, or in what Manner. But one Thing is as remarkable as it is difficult to be accounted for; which is, that during the Time the Plague of Rats laſted, a great Number of Ravens were ſeen in thoſe Iſlands, and were not ſeen afterwards.

Mr. *Moor* was ſucceeded as Governor by Captain *Tucker*, who was alſo very induſtrious in improving the Country. Before he left it, he ſaw it brought into a very flouriſhing Condition; there were good Houſes built, Grounds clear'd of Woods and Rubbiſh, and an orderly Form of Government eſtabliſhed. He reſign'd his Charge in 1618, and was ſucceeded in it by Captain *Butler*, who came over in 1619, bringing four good Ships, with at leaſt 500 People, along with him, and there being above that Number there before, the Body was now pretty conſiderable. Captain *Butler*'s three Years being expired, one Mr. *Bernard* was ſent to ſupply his Place, who died in ſix Weeks after his Arrival, which brings the *Bermuda* Affairs to the Year 1623, without any memorable Occurrence there, except that of the Rats.

The Cruelties of the DUTCH *at* Amboyna.

THE Beginning of the Year 1623, a very cruel Scene was acted at *Amboyna*, one of the *Syndæ* Iſlands, lying near the *Moluccas*, in the *Eaſt-Indies.* A Treaty had been in 1619, between *England* and the *United Provinces*, whereby, among other Things, it was agreed, That in regard of the great Bloodſhed and Coſt, pretended to be beſtowed by the *Dutch*, in winning the Trade of the Iſles of *Moluccas*, *Bonda*, and *Amboyna*, from the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, the *Dutch* ſhould enjoy two Thirds of that Trade, and the *Engliſh* the other Third.

In Purſuance of this Agreement, *Engliſh* Factories were placed at the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*,

boyna, the laſt of which is the principal Place in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where Nutmegs, Mace, Cinnamon, and Cloves, grow. Here the *Engliſh* had been ſettled but about two Years, when the *Dutch*, in order to deprive them of their Share of the Spice-Trade, pretended a Plot was formed between the *Engliſh* and the Natives, to get Poſſeſſion of the *Dutch* Fort, and to expel them the Iſland, tho' they had but twenty Men upon it, and the *Dutch* above 200 Garriſon Soldiers in the Caſtle, and eight Ships riding in the Road. The ſlender (or rather no) Pretence upon which the Suſpicion of a Plot was founded, was this: A *Japoneſe*, at *Amboyna*, walking in the Night of the 11th of *February*, upon the Wall of that Place, aſked a *Dutch* Centinel ſome Queſtions about the Strength of the Caſtle, and the People who were in it, which he had Reaſon to do, that he might underſtand the Courſe of their Watches, and the Strength of the Aid he might expect, if any ſudden Attempt ſhould happen in his Quarter, where he ſerved the *Dutch* upon Occaſion, as a Soldier. The *Dutch*, who wanted a Pretence to make a Plot, laid hold of this Opportunity to wreak their Malice upon the *Engliſh*, and having apprehended the *Japoneſe*, put him to the Torture, and extorted from him a Confeſſion, that himſelf, and other of his Countrymen, by the Inſtigation of the *Engliſh*, had contrived to take the Caſtle. Whereupon other *Japoneſe* were alſo examined, and tortur'd, as alſo a *Portugueze*, the Guardian of the Slaves under the *Dutch*, which laſted three or four Days.

During this Examination the *Engliſh* went freely to the Caſtle, and heard of their Accuſation and Torture; but being conſcious of their own Innocence, never offered to fly. At the ſame Time, *Abel*

Abel Price, Surgeon to the *Engliſh*, being a Priſoner in the Caſtle, for offering to ſet a *Dutch* Houſe on Fire, in his Drunkenneſs, was told, that the *Japoneſe*, whom they ſhewed him moſt grievouſly tortur'd, had confeſſed that the *Engliſh* had conſpired with them, on New-Year's Day, to take the Caſtle, and that if he would not confeſs, that they would uſe him as bad, or worſe, than the *Japoneſe*. Whereupon, having given him the Torture, he quickly confeſſed whatever they aſked him on *February* the 15th.

The ſame Day they ſent for Captain *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* who were in the Town, who came all but one to the Governor's. He told them they were accuſed of a Conſpiracy to ſurpriſe the Caſtle, and were to remain Priſoners till farther Trial. After this, they preſently ſeized him who was left at Home in the Houſe, took the Merchandize of the *Engliſh* Company into their Cuſtody, and ſeized all the Cheſts, Boxes, Books, Writings, and other Things, in the *Engliſh* Houſe. Captain *Towerſon* was committed to his Chamber, with a Guard of *Dutch* Soldiers; *Edmund Tompſon* was kept Priſoner in the Caſtle, and the reſt, being ſeven, *viz. John Beaumont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *Timothy Johnſon*, *John Fardo*, and *Robert Brown*, were ſent on Board the *Dutch* Ships riding in the Harbour, and were all put in Irons. The ſame Day the Governor ſent to the two leſſer Factories in the Iſland, and apprehended *Colſon*, *Clark*, and *Sharrock*, at *Hitto*, and *Collins*, *Webber*, and *Sadler*, at *Larica*, and they were all brought Priſoners to the Caſtle the 16th, which Day three more were apprehended at *Cambello*, and three more at *Letro*, two little Factories of the *Engliſh*, and brought in Irons to *Amboyna* the 20th.

Thus having extorted by Torture from the *Japoneſe*, and others, a Declaration of what they knew to be falſe, they proceeded, in the next Place, to torture the *Engliſh* whom they had ſeized, to make themſelves, and one another, to be guilty of this pretended Conſpiracy. The Manner of their Torture was as follows. They firſt hoiſted the Perſon to be tortured by the Hands, upon a large Door, whereto they made him faſt upon two Staples of Iron, at the Top of the Door-Poſts, with his Hands ſtretched out as wide as they could endure. Then his Feet being raiſed two Feet from the Ground, they ſtretched them out as far as they could, and faſtened them to the Door on each Side. After this they bound a Cloth about his Neck and Face ſo cloſe, that little or no Water could go by, and then poured Water ſoftly upon his Head, till the Cloth was full up to his Mouth and Noſtrils, and ſomewhat higher, ſo that he could not draw Breath, but he muſt ſuck in the Water, which being ſtill continued to be poured in ſoftly, forced his inward Parts, came out at his Noſe, Ears and Eyes, and many Times ſo ſtifled him, and took away his Breath, that he fell in a ſwooning Fit, which as ſoon as they perceived, they quickly took him down, and made him vomit up the Water. But after he was a little recovered, they drew him up again, and poured in the Water, as before, ſtill taking him down, as ſoon as he ſeemed to be ſtifled. In this Manner they handled him, three or four Times, with Water, till his Body was ſwelled twice as big as it was before, his Cheeks like great Bladders, and his Eyes ſtaring out beyond his Forehead; and if he would not accuſe himſelf and others of the Conſpiracy, after all this Torture, as ſeveral of them did not, then they hoiſted him up again as they did before, and burnt him with lighted Candles at the Bottom of his Feet, till the Fat dropping, put out the Candle, and then applied freſh Lights to him. They burnt him alſo under the Elbows, on the Palms of the Hands, and under the Arm-Pits, till his inward Parts might plainly be ſeen. And after he was thus wearied, and overcome with Torments, if he did not make any Confeſſion of himſelf, they propoſed to him leading Queſtions of their own framing, to which he anſwered, yes; and this was taken for his Confeſſion, and produced as Evidence againſt himſelf and others, tho' he denied it upon Oath both before and after the Torture.

But to finiſh their Barbarity: The Perſon who had been thus martyr'd, was carried away to a Dungeon, where he lay five or ſix Days without any Surgeon to dreſs him, till his Fleſh being putrified, great Maggots dropped and crept from him, in a moſt loathſome and nauſeous Manner. Beſides all this, ſome had their Toes ſlit, and their Breaſts lanced, and then Gunpowder being put in the Wound, was ſet Fire to.

Of the *Engliſh* who were examined, ſome endured this Torture by Fire and Water, to the laſt Extremity, before they were forced to confeſs what they never knew, as *Thomſon*, *Johnſon*, *Collins*, and *Clark*. Others endured the Torture of Water for an Hour or two, before they could be brought to accuſe themſelves, and others, of this pretended Conſpiracy, as *Brown*, *Colſon*, *Wetheral*, *Fardo*, &c. Others being terrified with the Fear of Torture, which produced ſuch dreadful Effects, choſe rather to confeſs all they were aſked, or to deviſe a Lie to ſave themſelves from Torment: But moſt of them at the Time of the Examination, before or after the forced Confeſſion of a Deſign to ſeize the Caſtle, declared and proteſted their Innocence, and the Falſhood of all they had ſaid in accuſing others of a Conſpiracy; ſo *Colſon*, *Grigs*, and *Fardo*, being brought to confront Captain *Towerſon*, (who deeply proteſted his Innocence) fell down upon their Knees, and praying God to forgive them, declared, that all they had ſaid againſt him was falſe, and ſpoken only to avoid Torment: Tho' after that, being threatned with the Torture, they then affirmed their former pretended Confeſſion.

In ſhort, all the *Engliſh* who were condemned to die (ſome being either acquitted or pardoned by the Intereſt of their *Dutch* Friends) did, after Sentence, ſolemnly vow and proteſt, as they hoped for Pardon and Salvation, that themſelves, and all whom they had charged, were innocent of the Crime for which they died. So Captain *Towerſon*, at the End of a Schedule, writes, "That he "was innocent of what was laid to his Charge, for "which he was then to die." And *Grigs*, who accuſed him, writes in his Table-Book, in the Name of himſelf, *Beaumont*, *Price*, and *Brown*; "That by extreme Torture they were conſtrained "to ſay what they never meant, and take it upon "their Death, that they died guiltleſs of the Ac"cuſation laid to their Charge." And *Colſon* writes, "That upon his Salvation, as he hoped "for Redemption by the Death of CHRIST, he "was clear of that Conſpiracy, for which he was "to die, neither did he know any *Engliſhman* guilty "thereof." And in another Writing he declares, "That he did confeſs what, as he hopes to be "ſaved, is not true (particularly againſt Captain "*Towerſon*) being forced for Fear of Torment, "and that, as he hopes for Pardon of his Sins, he "knows no more of this Buſineſs, than the Child "unborn."

" unborn." Subſcribed with his Name. Theſe Writings were preſerved, but other Writings to the ſame Purpoſe, particulary of Captain *Towerſon*'s, who was obſerved to write much in Priſon, were ſuppreſſed by the *Dutch*.

On the 26th of *February*, when all the Priſoners were brought into the Hall of the Caſtle (except Capt. *Towerſon* and Mr. *Thomſon*) to be prepared for Death, all the *Japoneſe* cried out " O ye *En-* " *gliſh!* when did we ever eat or talk with you ?" And the *Engliſh* anſwering, " Why have you then " accuſed us ?" The poor Men then ſhew'd them their tortur'd Bodies, and ſaid, " If a Stone were " thus burnt would it not change its Nature ? how " much more we, who are but Fleſh and Blood ?" And when the *Dutch* Miniſter came to the ten *Engliſh* in the Hall, exhorting them to make a true Confeſſion, becauſe they had but a ſhort Time to live, they ſtill proteſted their Innocence, and pray'd they might receive the Sacrament, as a Seal of the Pardon of their Sins, and to confirm this their Profeſſion ; but this was denied them. But when the Preacher told them, that the clearer they were of any Guilt, the greater would be their Reward, Mr. *Colſon* gave him his Purſe, and pray'd him to exhort the Governor (whom he freely forgave) to repent him of this bloody Tragedy, acted upon theſe innocent Souls. And all the reſt of the *Engliſh* ſignified their Conſent to what he ſaid. And when *Fardo* charged them all, as they would anſwer it at GOD's Judgment-Seat, if any of them were guilty of this Matter, to confeſs the Truth for the Satisfaction of the World, Mr. *Colſon* anſwer'd, " If I be guilty of it, more or leſs, let me " never be Partaker of the Joys of Heaven !" At which Words, every one of the reſt cried out, " Amen, for me, good LORD!" After this, each of them knowing whom he had accuſed, went one to another, begging Forgiveneſs for their falſe Accuſation, being extorted by the Pains or Fear of Torture; and they all freely forgave one another, for none was falſly accuſed, but himſelf had falſly accuſed another. After this, they ſpent the reſt of the Night in Prayer and ſinging of Pſalms, and comforting one another, while the *Dutch* Guards offer'd them Wine, and bid them drink merrily, and drive away Sorrow.

The 27th of *February*, being the Day of Execution, the condemned Perſons firſt requeſted *John Powle*, and afterwards all who were acquitted and pardoned, to bear Witneſs to their Friends in *England*, of their Innocence, and that they were merely murdered by the *Dutch*, whom they prayed God to forgive, and to have Mercy on their Souls.

Being brought to the Place of Execution, (not by the neareſt and common Way, but round about in Proceſſion thro' the Town) they every one of them ſeverally took it upon their Death, that they were entirely guiltleſs, and ſo they chearfully ſubmitted to the fatal Stroke. The Perſons executed were, Mr. *Towerſon*, Agent of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, Mr. *Colſon*, *Thomſon*, *Johnſon*, *Wetheral*, *Clark*, *Grigs*, *Fardo*, *Price*, and *Brown*; the *Portugueze*, *Perez*, who ſwore upon the Croſs that he was innocent; and nine *Japoneſe*, who, likewiſe, in their Way, profeſſed their Innocence.

The next Day, the new *Dutch* Governor ſent *Beaumont*, *Sharrock*, *Collins*, and *Webber*, the four who were pardoned, to ſeveral Factories, and diſpatched *Collins*, who was freed by caſting Lots, to *Jaccatra*, whither Capt. *Welden*, having ſent three of them to other Places, quickly carried them all in a Pinnace.

The Narrative of theſe Proceedings (ſay the Authors who have treated of it) is taken out of the Depoſitions of ſix *Engliſh* Factors, whereof four were condemned and pardoned, and the other acquitted at *Amboyna*; being, ſince their Return into *England*, examined upon Oath in the Admiralty Office.

The *Dutch* did not ſtop here, but ſeized upon the *Engliſh* Factories in *Seram*, *Poleroon*, and other neighbouring Iſlands, becoming by thoſe Means almoſt entire Maſters of the Spice Iſlands.

The firſt Settlement at Barbados.

IT is difficult to fix the certain Time, when the *Engliſh* came firſt into *Barbados*. However, it is generally agreed, that it was before the Death of King *James*; becauſe, by an Act of Aſſembly in *Barbados*, entitled, *An Act for the better aſcertaining the Laws of the Iſland*, A. D. 1666, it is ſaid, *That all Acts confirmed by any Governor and Counſellor, Preſident and Council, by Virtue of any Commiſſion from King* James *or* Charles I. *&c.* which is a plain Proof, that it was diſcovered by the *Engliſh* before the Year 1625.

What we find upon Record is this: That about the Year 1624, a Ship of Sir *William Courteen*'s, returning from *Fernambuc*, in *Brazil*, was driven by Streſs of Weather on this Coaſt, as the *Portugueze* had been before, it being, as *Ligon* ſays, *not far out of the Way; for it is the beſt windwardly Iſland of the* Caribbees, Tobago *only excepted.* As indeed it is, *Tobago* being in 11 Deg. 16 Min. North Lat. above a Degree nearer the Line than *Barbados*.

That this Ship touched here about the Year 1624, we have theſe Reaſons to believe: It is plain, there was no ſailing to *Brazil* for any *Engliſhman*, but under the Protection of the *Dutch Weſt India* Company; the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* making it Death for any Stranger to come among them, on this Part of the Continent.

Now, tho' the *Dutch Weſt India* Company, after the Expiration of the Truce with *Philip* III. King of *Spain* and *Portugal*, began, by Permiſſion of the States General, to trade thither; yet they never ſent any Fleet till the Beginning of the Year 1624. Before which Time, we cannot imagine the *Engliſh* would venture to *Brazil*, the *Dutch* not having made any Settlement, and King *James* dying in 1625, it ſeems proved plain enough, that Sir *William Courteen*'s Ship came to *Barbados* in 1624.

It no where appears, that Sir *William* came in Perſon; and who, and what this Knight was, we have no good Account. *Ligon* tells us only, a Ship of Sir *William Courteen*'s was driven upon this Coaſt, and anchored before it. The Men on Board this Ship landed, and ſtaid ſome Time, to inform themſelves of the Nature of the Place, which they found overgrown with Woods, and without any Beaſts but Hogs, which the *Portugueze* had long before left to breed there. It is likewiſe probable, that the *Portugueze* gave it the Name it ſtill retains, and which, in their Tongue, is *Los Barbados*, or *the Barbados*, relating, no Doubt, to the Barbarity of the Country.

The *Engliſh*, who landed there out of Sir *William Courteen*'s Ship, when they returned to *England*, gave Advice to their Friends of the Diſcovery they had made; and upon that, ſeveral Noblemen and others undertook to ſettle a Colony there. Ships were ſent with Men, Proviſions, and working Tools, to cut down the Woods, and clear the Grounds, and to plant Proviſions for their Subſiſtence.

William, Earl of *Pembroke*, among others, was a great Adventurer in the firſt ſettling of this Iſland; and he it was who firſt ſent over one Capt. *Cannon*, who may be called the firſt Governor, the reſt of the Colony having been under his Direction: The firſt Adventurers were, however, forced to abandon their Settlements, or hold them of the Earl of *Carliſle*, who begged the Property of the Iſland of King *James*, and obtained a Grant of it; but not of this King, for he died in the Interim, and his Son, *Charles* I. granted it to *James*, Earl of *Carliſle*, in the firſt Year of his Reign.

The firſt Settlement of a Colony at St. Chriſtophers.

THE Preparations for this Settlement were made at the Charge of Mr. *Ralph Marifield*, and his Aſſociates, who committed the Management of it to one Capt. *Warriner* (or *Warner)* a Man of Worth and Induſtry. He arrived there the 28th of *January* 1624, as it is ſaid, with 15 Perſons only.

At their Arrival, they found three *Frenchmen*, who ſought to oppoſe Capt. *Warriner*, and ſet the *Indians* on them; but they all ſoon became Friends, and lived with the *Indians* a Month. They then built a Fort, and a Houſe, and planted Fruits. By *September*, they had a Crop of Tobacco; but the 19th of that Month, a Hurricane came and blew it all away. All this while, they lived upon *Caſſado* Bread, Potatoes, Plantans, Pines, Turtles, Guanes, and Fiſh in Plenty.

The 18th of *March*, 1625, arrived Capt. *Jefferſon*, with three Men Paſſengers, in the *Hopewel* of *London*, with ſome Trade for the *Indians*, and then they had another Crop of Tobacco. In the mean Time the *French* had planted themſelves at the other End of the Iſle. With this Crop Capt. *Warriner* returned to *England*, leaving his Colony behind.

The 24th of *Auguſt* 1626, Capt. *Warriner* returned, with near 100 People. They fell to planting; but on the 4th of *September*, a Hurricane blew down all their Houſes and Tobacco Plants, drove two Ships aſhore, and did other conſiderable Damages. All their Proviſions being thus loſt, they lived very miſerably upon what they could get in the wild Woods, till the Tobacco came in about *June* of the Year following.

The 13th of *May*, 1627, Capt. *Warriner* the *Engliſh* Governor, and the *French* Governor, to prevent Differences among their People, about the Limits of their Territories, ſigned Articles of Diviſion. They then ſet thoſe Boundaries to their ſeveral Diviſions, which remained ever after, with this particular Proviſo, that Fiſhing and Hunting ſhould be equally free to the Inhabitants of both Nations; that the Salt-Ponds, and moſt valuable Timber, ſhould alſo be in common, together with the Mines and Havens. Alſo, a League offenſive and defenſive was concluded between them, againſt all their Enemies. After which they ſet themſelves to Work, each in his Station, to advance his Settlement.

Capt. PENNINGTON's *Expedition againſt the* Rochelers.

KING *James*, a little before his Death, in a Treaty which he made with *France*, engaged to lend the *French* King ſome Ships, to be employ'd againſt the King of *Spain*, or his Allies in *Italy*. To comply with this Agreement, King *Charles*, on his Acceſſion to the Throne, ſent Capt. *John Pennington*, with his Majeſty's Ship the *Vanguard*, and ſix or ſeven hired Merchant Ships, of great Burden and Strength, over to the Coaſt of *France*, to be employ'd in the *French* Service. But the *French* King, being hotly engaged in a War with his Proteſtant Subjects, now intended to make Uſe of them for the Reduction of *Rochel*.

Pennington, becoming ſenſible of this, immediately wrote Advice thereof to the Duke of *Buckingham*, then Lord High-Admiral, deſiring to decline ſo odious a Service, and that he might have Leave to return to *England*. Upon which his Orders were more ſtrongly enforced, and leſt the Lord High-Admiral's ſhould not be thought ſufficient, the King himſelf ſigned an Order to him to employ the Ships on ſuch Service, as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould direct; from whom, at the ſame Time, he received a Letter, requiring him to take on Board a Number of *French* Soldiers, with his Admiral, the Duke *de Montmorency*, and repair before *Rochel*. This, Capt. *Pennington*, with a true *Engliſh* Heart, refuſed to do; whereupon, the *French* Officers, who had convey'd the Orders to him, came on Board the *Vanguard*, to proteſt againſt him, as a Rebel to his King and Country;

and

and not content with having once done it, returned a ſecond Time, to enforce their Proteſtations with Threats and Menaces. The Seamen were ſo enraged at this, that, in a violent Fury and Tumult, they weigh'd Anchor and ſet Sail, crying, *They would rather be hang'd at Home, than be Slaves to the* French, *and fight againſt their own Religion.* And accordingly returned to the *Downs.* The Captain ſending Expreſs to Court, with Advice of his Proceedings, immediately received a poſitive Order, under the King's Sign-Manual, to return, and deliver up the Ships into the Hands of a *French* Officer at *Diep*, which he was at length, forced to comply with; but quitted the Command himſelf, as all the *Engliſhmen*, both Officers and Men, except one, did the Ships, and returned to *England*: So hard it is for the honeſt *Engliſh* Sailor to be made ſubſervient to Popiſh Intereſts.

The Delivering up the Ships under Capt. *Pennington*, to the *French*, was ſo highly diſagreeable to the People of *England*, and made them ſo jealous of the Court, that it was thought fit, when it was publickly known that they had been employ'd againſt the *Rochelers*, to exclaim againſt that Proceeding as a Colluſion of the Treaty, whereby they were lent, and to demand the immediate Reſtitution of them. The *French* King excuſed himſelf from complying with this Demand at preſent, on Pretence that his Subjects, by whom they were manned, would not now quit them, when they were on immediate Service. The Lord High-Admiral therefore iſſued out Commiſſions of Reprizal, whereby the *St. Peter* of *Havre de Grace* was taken, with other *French* Merchant Ships. Whereupon the *French* King not only abſolutely refuſed to reſtore the ſeven Ships, but ſeized all the *Engliſh* Merchants Veſſels throughout his Dominions. For

Reaſons of State, theſe Breaches were patched up, Reſtitution made on both Sides, till ſoon after, upon the Diſmiſſion of the Queen's *French* Servants, an open Rupture enſued, by the *French* King's ſeizing 120 *Engliſh* Merchant Ships, in the ſeveral Ports and Rivers of his Kingdom, which was immediately followed by a Declaration of War on our Side. The Grounds thereof, among others, were the *French* King's Breach of his Articles with his Proteſtant Subjects, and his blocking up their Towns, Garriſons and Forts. In order, therefore, to relieve them, a Fleet of 30 Ships was immediately fitted out under the Earl of *Denbigh*, with Orders to proceed to *Rochel*; but the Ships, when they were got a few Leagues to Sea, ſuffer'd ſo much by bad Weather, that they were forced to return into Harbour, and the Seaſon was ſo late (being the latter End of *October*) that they could not be ſent out again till next Year.

The Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee*, in 1627, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Buckingham*, was ſo ill managed, ſo inglorious and unfortunate, from the Beginning to the End, that a Detail of it would be only a recounting a Series of Diſgraces, which the Commander brought on himſelf, his Army, and his Country. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with an Account of the Retreat, as given by a Colonel, who had a Command in it.

The Night before the Retreat, the Duke called a Council of War, and there ſhew'd them the Neceſſity of the Retreat, the next Day; and that himſelf being wholly unexperienced in martial Diſcipline, he left the Management of the next Day's Action to the Ordering of the Council of War, offering the Service of his own Perſon to any Hazard whatever, as far as any private Soldier. The Council committed the Management of their Re-

treat,

treat, by a free Conſent, unto old Sir *William Courtney*, a heavy, dull, covetous old Man, who having been twenty or thirty Year's a private Captain in *Holland*, was, by Sir *John Burrows*'s Means, made a Colonel in this Expedition; and *Burrows* being now dead, and *Courtney* the oldeſt Colonel, it was referred to him how to bring off our Men in Safety: But he, either through Want of Judgment or Forgetfulneſs, having not ſufficiently provided for the Security of our Rear, many of our Men were moſt unfortunately cut to Pieces; and had not Sir *Pierce Croſby*, with 800 *Iriſh*, made good the Retreat, all our Men had been loſt. *Courtney* himſelf fell into a Salt-Pan, in the Defeat, and was ſaved by Means of his Man *Anthony*'s crying out, *O ſave my Captain*; but the poor Fellow loſt his own Life, tho' he ſaved his Maſter's.

The firſt Settlement of a Colony at Maſſachuſet's *Bay, in* New England.

WE have before given our Readers an Account of the firſt regular Settlement in *New England*, at a Place called *New Plymouth*, which we left in a very proſperous and thriving Way.

While this Colony, by their Planting, Fiſhing, and Traffic, were growing rich and numerous, ſeveral worthy Perſons, encouraged by the Proſpect of Advantage, and others animated by a Zeal for the Propagation of Religion, reſolved to make Settlements in other Parts of the Country. The chief of theſe was Mr. *White*, Miniſter of *Dorcheſter*,

cheſter, who having engaged ſeveral Gentlemen in the Deſign, they ſent Mr. *Roger Conant*, with ſome Men, and Neceſſaries, to ſettle about *Cape Anne*, the Northern Promontory of *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay. Mr. *Conant* was ſoon weary of his Poſt, and about to return, when he received encouraging News from Mr. *White*, aſſuring him, that he would procure a Patent for him and his Companions, and ſeaſonable Supplies of all Things. Upon which he ſtaid, and looked out for a more commodious Place to build upon.

Mr. *White*, as he had promiſed, by ſoliciting the Matter ſtrenuouſly, did it ſo effectually, that ſeveral of his Friends purchaſed of the *North-Virginia* Company, called the Council of *Plymouth*, that Part of *New England* which lies between the River *Merimach*, and *Charles-River*, in the Bottom of *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay. The chief of theſe were Sir *Henry Boſwell*, Sir *John Young*, Sir *Richard Saltonſtall*, *Iſaac Johnſon*, Eſq; *Matthew Craddock*, Eſq; *Theophilus Eaton*, Merchant, *Thomas Southcot*, Eſq; and Mr. *John Venn*.

They bought all the Company's Intereſt, and obtained a Grant of the King, bearing Date in the Year 1628, to hold their Lands in common Soccage, as of the Manor of *Eaſt-Greenwich*, and an Aſſurance of Protection in their Liberty of Conſcience, and for all ſuch as ſhould remove thither. Several of them accordingly went over with their Families, and carried with them as many as they could engage to accompany them. Of theſe *Matthew Craddock*, Eſq; was appointed Governor, who ſeated himſelf at a Place called *Nehemeik* by the *Indians*, to which theſe Nonconformiſts gave the Name of *Salem*, about eight Miles Northward of *Boſton*, in the County of *Eſſex*. To them came Mr. *Higginſon*, a *Leiceſter-*

ſhire Preacher, and Mr. *Skelton*, a Miniſter of *Lincolnſhire*, ſilenced for not conforming to the Ceremonies impoſed by their Eccleſiaſtical Governors. As theſe drew ſo many Puritans after them, the *Salem* Colony began in a little Time to rival her elder Siſter, *Plymouth*. Mr. *Higginſon* was choſen Miniſter of the Church of *Salem*, and Mr. *Skelton* his Aſſociate. The former died in about a Year, and his Son Mr. *John Higginſon* ſucceeded him very young in the Miniſtry, and was yet living, and Miniſter of *Salem* in 1694.

The Company of Adventurers in *England* finding their *Maſſachuſet* Colony thrived, and was likely to turn to a good Account, reſolved to give it due Encouragement; and conſidering Mr. *Craddock* was grown old, and his Deputy *John Endicot*, Eſq; not ſo fit for the Poſt as a Man of greater Quality and Intereſt would be; by Virtue of their Charter, which impowered them to elect their own Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Magiſtrates, they made *John Winthrop*, Eſq; of *Groton*, in *Suffolk*, Governor, and *Thomas Dudley*, Eſq; of *Northampton*, Deputy-Governor of the New Colony. With theſe Gentlemen they ſent large Supplies of Neceſſaries, and about 1000 Perſons tranſported themſelves thither at this Time; among whom were Sir *Richard Saltanſtal*, *Theophilus Eaton*, Eſq; *John Venn*, Eſq; *Iſaac Johnſon*, Eſq; and his Wife, the Lady *Arabella Johnſon*.

Theſe arrived in *New England* in 1630. And Mr. *Winthrop* entering upon the Exerciſe of his Office, gained the Affection and Eſteem of every Body; and the Eaſineſs of his Government, the Succeſs of his Counſels, and the Piety of his Life, invited many more Families to retreat thither, from the Rage of their Perſecutors.

The *Maſſachuſet* Settlement now built ſeveral Towns, as *Charles-Town*, on *Charles-River*, in *Middleſex* County, where there was a Church erected, and Mr. *Wilſon*, an outed Miniſter of *Sudbury*, in *Suffolk*, choſen Paſtor of it; *Dorcheſter*, in *Suffolk* County, and *Boſton*, which roſe out of the Ruins, if the Expreſſion may be allowed, of *Charles-Town*, that Town being not thought ſo commodious for Trade as *Boſton*, many of the Inhabitants removed thither, as did the Miniſter, Mr. *Wilſon*. This Place flouriſhed ſo much, that in a little Time it became the Capital of *Maſſachuſet* Colony, and of all *New England*. After *Boſton*, were built *Roxbury* in *Suffolk* County, and then *Lynn* in *Eſſex* County, and *Water-Town* in *Middleſex* County. All theſe were finiſhed and ſettled in leſs than two Years; and the Plantation went on ſo proſperouſly by the Multitudes of People who came over, that ſome of them were forced to remove to other Parts of the Country.

The firſt Settlement of a Colony at Mevis.

THE Accounts we have of the firſt Diſcovery and Settlement at *Mevis*, are ſo obſcure, that little can be ſaid with any Certainty. Let it ſuffice therefore briefly to obſerve, that Captain *Warriner*, who made the firſt Settlement in *St. Chriſtophers*, made alſo the firſt at *Mevis* (firſt called *Nevis*) in 1628: But the Year following Don *Frederick de Toledo*, drove moſt of the *Engliſh* and *French* out of the former Iſland, and ſeized all the Ships (to the Number of fifteen) which were at *Mevis*.

The Settlement, however, went on ſo proſperouſly, that in 20 Years, there were between 3 and 4000 Men there, who ſubſiſted and lived handſomely by the Trade they drove in Sugar.

The firſt Settlement of a Colony at Maryland.

THE Province, now called *Maryland*, was always reckon'd a Part of *Virginia*, till the Year 1631, when the King made a Grant of it to *George Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore.* This Lord not living to ſee his Grant made out, his Son *Cecil Calvert*, Baron of *Baltimore*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland* (who had been at *Virginia*, but being looked upon there with an evil Eye, had viſited the adjacent Countries, and reſolved to fix a new Plantation of his own) took it out in his own Name, and it bears Date the 20th of *June*, 1632. The Bounds of this Country cannot be better aſcertained than by uſing the Words of the Patent. *It is all that Part of a Peninſula, lying between the Ocean on the Eaſt, and the Bay of* Cheſepeak *on the Weſt, and divided from the other Part by a right Line drawn from a Cape called* Watkins'*s Point, (ſituate in the aforeſaid Bay, near the River of* Wighco) *on the Weſt, unto the main Ocean on the Eaſt, and between that Bound on the South, unto that Part of* Delaware *River on the North, which lies under the 40th Deg. of N. Lat.* &c. *And all that Tract of Land from the aforeſaid Bay of* Delaware, *in a right Line, by the Degree aforeſaid, to the true Meridian of the firſt Fountain of the River* Patowmeck, *and from thence tending towards the South, to the farther Bank of the* *aforeſaid River, and following the Weſt and South Side of it to a certain Place called* Cinquack, *ſituate near the Mouth of the ſaid River, where it falls into the River* Cheſepeak, *and from thence, by a ſtreight Line, to the aforeſaid Cape, called* Watkins's *Point.*

The King himſelf gave this Province the Name of *Maryland*, in Honour to his Queen. The Lord *Baltimore* held it of the Crown of *England*, in common Soccage, as of his Majeſty's Manor of *Windſor*, holding and paying yearly, for ever, two *Indian* Arrows of thoſe Parts, at the Caſtle of *Windſor.*

The Lord *Baltimore* having obtained the Grant, reſolved to go thither in Perſon; but afterwards changing his Mind, he appointed his Brother *Leonard Calvert*, Eſq; to go Governor in his Stead, with whom he joined in Commiſſion *Jeremy Hawley*, Eſq; and *Thomas Cornwallis*, Eſq; The firſt Colony was ſent thither in 1633, and conſiſted of about 200 People. The Chief of the Adventurers were Gentlemen of good Families, but *Roman Catholicks*, who went thither with the Hopes of enjoying a Liberty of Conſcience, under a Proprietary of their own Profeſſion, as was the Lord *Baltimore.*

Theſe Adventurers ſailed from *Cowes*, in the Iſle of *Wight*, the 22d Day of *November*, and having ſtopped at *Barbados* and *St. Chriſtophers*, where they ſtaid ſome Time, arrived at Point *Comfort* in *Virginia*, the 24th of *February* following. The 3d of *March*, they left Point *Comfort*, and came to *Patowmeck* River, the South Point of which the Governor called *St. Gregory*'s and the North Point *St. Michael*'s.

After having viewed the River, near 50 Leagues up it, in Pinnaces, and conferred with ſeveral of the *Indian* Chiefs, the Governor returned and viewed a River on the North Side of *Patowmeck*, within four or five Leagues of its Mouth, which he called *George*'s River, and, about four or five League up it, came to an *Indian* Town call *Yoamaco*, where he reſolved to make his firſt Settlement, which the *Indian* Inhabitants not only conſented to, but willingly abandon'd it, allowing the Governor to take Poſſeſſion of it the 27th of *March*, who gave it the Name of *St. Mary*'s.

The taking Poſſeſſion of this Town was of great Advantage to the firſt Colony, becauſe the Ground was cleared to their Hands, which gave them an Opportunity of planting Corn, and making Gardens. They found indeed only Huts in it; but they ſoon converted them into Houſes, and erected a Fort: And, the Colony increaſing, the Country was afterwards divided into Shires, and ſeveral Towns built.

The Author of the Hiſtory of *Virginia*, calls this Settlement an unhappy Accident, and alledges ſeveral Reaſons wherein it cauſed Prejudice to *Virginia*, from which it was ſeparated; but this regarding Trade only, I ſhall leave it to be diſcuſſed by abler Judges.

The firſt Settlement of the Connecticut *Colony in* New England.

WE have before taken Notice, that the vaſt Succeſs of the Colony of *Maſſachuſet*'s Bay, had encouraged great Numbers of People to go over thither, inſomuch that many of them were forced to remove to other Parts of the Country.

The firſt who broke up from *Maſſachuſet* Colony, was Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Miniſter of *Cam-*

bridge, who ſeated himſelf in a Place on *Connecticut* River, where he built the Town of *Hertford*, in the County from thence called by the ſame Name. From *Water-town* they went and ſettled on the Place where now *Weathersfield* ſtands, as they did from *Roxbury* to *Springfield*. This new Settlement had a Sort of Commiſſion for what they did; but finding they had extended their Diſcoveries far beyond the Limits of that Colony, they ſet up an Independent Government of their own, founding it on a League or Agreement among themſelves, became a Body Politic, made neceſſary Laws and Orders, choſe proper Officers to execute them, and *Edward Hopkins*, Eſq; to be their firſt Governor, which Office he, with *John Haynes*, Eſq; enjoyed alternately for many Years.

This Settlement was ſcarcely well fixed, before *George Fenwick*, Eſq; was ſent to *New England* on Account of ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who had bought of the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook*, ſome Lands on the River which runs thro' *Connecticut* Colony. Mr. *Fenwick* ſeated himſelf at the Mouth of the River, and built the Town called *Say-brook*. The Lords *Say* and *Brook*'s Title to that Territory, was by a Grant from the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom the King had given it. The *Connecticut* Colony thinking, that by purchaſing this Ground, their Right to the Land they had ſeized without any Grant would be the ſtronger, bought it of Mr. *Fenwick*, by Conſent of the Proprietors; that Gentleman having but begun his Plantation, and finding ſufficient Encouragement to finiſh it. With this Shadow of a Conſtitution, they continued till after the Reſtoration, and then they procured a Charter from the Crown.

The firſt Settlement of the Colony of Newhaven.

TWO Years after ſettling the Colony at *Connecticut*, Mr. *Theophilus Eaton*, and Mr. *Davenport*, Miniſter, hearing of another Bay to the South-Weſt of *Connecticut*, purchaſed, of the Proprietors, all the Land which lay between them and *Hudſon*'s River, which divides the Southern Parts of *New England* from *New York*; and removed thither in 1637, where they ſeated themſelves in a pleaſant Bay, and built *Newhaven*, which gave Name to the Colony, as alſo *Guilford*, *Milford*, *Stamford*, and *Bramford*. Tho' they had a Right to the Lands by Purchaſe, they had none to a particular Government; yet they formed themſelves, by mutual Agreement, into a Body Politic, and choſe Mr. *Eaton* for their Governor.

VIRGINIA *Affairs*.

KING *Charles* I. ſoon after his Acceſſion to the Crown, diſſolved the *Virginia* Company, and took the Colony into his immediate Direction. He ordered the future Form of its Conſtitution to be, a Governor, a Council of twelve Gentlemen, and the Aſſembly, conſiſting of Repreſentatives deputed by the ſeveral Towns and Counties in the Colony. Sir *John Harvey*, the firſt Governor appointed by the King, was very ſevere in his Extortions and Exactions, in Fines and Forfeitures, proud and turbulent in his Councils, and ſo unjuſt and arbitrary, that the Gentlemen in the Colony, not being able to endure his Tyranny, ſeized him, and ſent him Priſoner in a Ship to *London*, in the Year 1639. They deputed two of their Members to accompany him, and exhibit their Grievances to King *Charles*, who was ſo far from redreſſing them, that he would not give Ear to theſe Complaints; but immediately order'd Sir *John Harvey* to return to his Government: He was, however, ſoon recalled, and the worthy Sir *John Berkley*, ordered to ſucceed him.

The Differences between the Government and the Colony, had occaſioned ſo much Confuſion, that the ſubtle *Indians*, who watched all Opportunities to fall upon the *Engliſh*, ſeeing them uneaſy, and diſunited among themſelves, ſurprized them again, and cut off 500 Men, Women, and Children.

Oppecancanough, who was *Powhatan*'s Succeſſor, ſo reſented the Encroachments made on his Dominions, by the late numerous Grants, that he had contrived a general Maſſacre; but the *Engliſh* had now too many Settlements to be deſtroyed at once; ſo his Wrath fell chiefly on the Borderers, on the South-ſide of *James-River*, and on the Heads of the other Rivers. This Prince was ſoon after ſurprized and taken by Sir *William Berkley*; and dying a Priſoner in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, the ſeveral Nations he had ſubjected were diſunited, and ſet up petty Sovereigns, each for itſelf. This Diviſion ſo weaken'd them, that the *Engliſh* had little more to fear from them; and Sir *William Berkley*, after warring with them for ſome Time, made a Peace with them all, which continued a long Time inviolated, and removed all farther Apprehenſions.

An Account of the ſeveral Engagements at Sea, between the two Common-wealths of Holland *and* England.

IT was in the Spring of the Year 1652, that Things came to Extremities; but it was then warmly diſputed, nor is it decided even to this Day, who were the Aggreſſors. By comparing Facts and Circumſtances, in the Accounts publiſhed on both Sides, it ſeems moſt probable, that the *Dutch* led the Way; becauſe they ſecretly made great Preparations for War, and had actually 150 Ships of Force at Sea; whereas the *Engliſh* Parliament equipped no more than their uſual Squadron to guard the narrow Seas, under the Command of Admiral *Blake*.

The firſt Stroke that was ſtruck, was occaſion'd by the following Incident. On the 14th of *May*, 1652, Commodore *Young*, meeting with a *Dutch* Man of War, fired at him for refuſing him the Honour of the Flag; yet acted with great Caution, and gave the *Dutchman* all the Opportunity he could deſire of avoiding a Diſpute. He ſent his Boat to him to perſuade him to ſtrike; but the Captain anſwered plainly and honeſtly, that the States had threatened to take off his Head if he ſtruck. Upon which the Fight began, in which the *Dutchman* was ſo roughly handled, as to be obliged to ſtrike. There were two other Ships of War, and 12 Merchantmen, none of which interfered; and on the other Side, after the *Dutch* Ships had taken in their Flags, Commodore *Young* retired without making any Prizes. This Affair would have made more Noiſe, had not an Action of greater Conſequence happen'd ſoon after.

Admiral *Van Tromp* was at Sea with a Fleet of upwards of 40 Sail, to protect (as was given out) the *Dutch* Trade. The Fleet coming into the *Downs* the 18th of *May*, they met there with a ſmall Squadron under the Command of Major *Bourne*, to whom the Admiral ſent Word, that he was forced in by Streſs of Weather. *Bourne* roundly anſwer'd, *That this would beſt appear by the Shortneſs of his Stay*; and ſent Advice of it to his Admiral. The next Day, *Van Tromp*, with his Fleet, bore down upon *Blake* in *Dover* Road, and on his coming near him, *Blake* fired thrice at his Flag; upon which the *Dutch* Admiral gave him a Broadſide. For near four Hours *Blake* was engaged almoſt alone, but by Degrees the Weather permitted his Fleet to come in, and then they behaved bravely. Towards the Cloſe of the Engagement, which laſted from four in the Afternoon till nine at Night, *Bourne* came in with his eight Ships; upon which the Enemy bore away. In this Battle the Victory was clearly on the Side of the *Engliſh*, as the *Dutch* Writers themſelves confeſs, there being two *Dutch* Ships taken, and one diſabled; whereas the *Engliſh* loſt none; and yet the Inequality was very great, for the *Dutch* Fleet, at firſt, conſiſted of 42 Ships, and *Blake*'s only of 15, and at the End of the Fight, he had no more than 23. The Admirals wrote each of them an Account of this Affair to their reſpective Maſters; wherein they plainly contradict each other: But with this Difference, that there is no diſproving any Fact mentioned in *Blake*'s Letter; whereas there are ſeveral Falſhoods or Miſtakes at leaſt in *Tromp*'s, ſuch as, that *Bourne*'s Squadron conſiſted of 12 large Ships, which could not be true. Beſides, tho' he inſiſts on *Blake*'s being the

Aggreſſor, yet he owns that his Flag was out all the Time. The States themſelves were ſo ſenſible of their being in the wrong, and at the ſame Time, that their Fleet, notwithſtanding its Superiority, had been beat, that they apologized for it, and ſent over another Ambaſſador, the *Heer Pauw*, to proceed on the Treaty. But the Demands of the Parliament were too high, and ſo all Thoughts of Peace were laid by on both Sides.

The *Engliſh*, in the mean Time, by Virtue of the Act of Navigation, and by Way of Repriſal and Requital for the late Damages, Affronts and Hoſtilities, received from the States General and their Subjects, took many *Dutch* Ships. *June* 11, *Blake* brought in eleven Merchant Ships with their Convoy coming from *Nantes*. *June* 12, the Captains, *Taylor* and *Peacock*, in two *Engliſh* Frigates, engaged two *Dutch* Men of War, on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, for refuſing to ſtrike; of which one was taken, and the other ſtranded. And on the 13th of the ſame Month, *Blake* took 26 Merchant Ships, with three Convoys homeward bound from *France*. *July* 4, Vice-Admiral *Ayſcough* (who, in his late Return from the Reduction of *Barbados*, had taken ten Merchant Ships, and four Men of War) attacked the *St. Ubes* Fleet of about 40 Sail, of which near 30 were taken, burnt, ſtranded and plunder'd, on the *French* Coaſt. After this, while the States with the utmoſt Diligence were getting ready a Fleet of 70 Men of War, under the Command of *Tromp*; *Blake*, with about 60, received Orders to ſail to the North, to diſturb the *Dutch* Fiſhery. Sir *George Ayſcough*, who, ſince the Deſtruction of the *St. Ubes* Fleet, had taken five *Dutch* Merchant Ships, was left with the Remainder of the *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of ſeven Men of War, in the *Downs*.

Mean while, *Blake*, ſailing to the Northward to diſperſe the *Dutch* Herring Buſſes, had the good Fortune to meet with the whole Fleet, of which he took about 100, with 12 of the 13 Frigates, which were their Convoy, and ſunk the 13th. Having plunder'd the Buſſes, he ſuffer'd them and their Crews to return Home.

In his Return, ſome of his Frigates chaced two *Zealand* Men of War, which they took. He did indeed look out for five *Eaſt India* Ships of that Nation, then expected Home by the North of *Scotland*, but they eſcaped him.

While *Blake* triumphed in the North, *Tromp*, with his great Fleet, came into the Mouth of the *Thames*, in Hopes of ſurprizing *Ayſcough*, or inſulting the Coaſt. Failing of this, he failed Northward to intercept *Blake*; but his Ships being diſperſed by a Storm, he was diſappointed in that Scheme alſo, and loſt five or ſix Frigates, which fell into the Hands of *Blake*, on his Return towards the South.

In the mean Time, Sir *George Ayſcough* (being reinforced by ſeveral Men of War) was ſent with another Part of the Fleet to the South, to obſtruct the *Dutch* Commerce, in the moſt effectual Manner. At his very Going out he met with 30 Sail of the *Dutch* Merchants, between *Dover* and *Calais*; a good Part whereof he took or ſunk, and forced the reſt to run aſhore on the *French* Coaſt. From thence he ſtood Weſtward, and cruiſing off *Plymouth*, with between 30 and 40 Sail, for the Protection of our homeward bound Trades, was met the 16th of *Auguſt*, by the *Dutch* Admiral, *De Ruyter*, with a Fleet of Men of War, with which he was convoying a Fleet of Merchant Ships outward-bound, towards the Eaſt. Both Admirals immediately prepared to engage, and the Engagement proved very ſmart, from Four in the Afternoon, till Night parted them. Sir *George* behaved very gallantly, and with nine of his headmoſt Ships, charged through the *Dutch* Fleet, and got the Weather-gage. With this Advantage, he renewed the Attack, and continued it warmly for ſome Hours; but ſome of the reſt of his Ships not ſeconding him, as they ought to have done, and the Night coming on, he thought fit to retire to *Plymouth*. The *Dutch* having likewiſe enough of it, made the beſt of their Way up the Channel, having had two Captains killed, two Ships ſunk, and moſt of the Men loſt. The Loſs on our Side, in Men, was pretty equal to theirs, but we loſt only one ſingle Fireſhip.

Dutch Authors, however, pretend the Advantage was on their Side, and that we loſt two or three Men of War, and had 12 or 1300 Men killed, drowned, and wounded; whereas they had but 60 killed, and as many wounded. At the ſame Time they own their Fleet was ſo diſabled, that *De Ruyter* was forced to ſend 15 of them Home, among which was his own Ship. They relate ſome particular Inſtances of the Bravery of ſome of their Captains, which are too romantic to deſerve Credit, if they did not (as they do) contradict one another. Sir *George*'s Conduct and Courage were certainly without Exception, in this Action; and yet the Parliament (for what Reaſon was not known, unleſs for his too great Kindneſs to Lord *Willoughby)* laid him aſide, tho' ſoftly, with a Preſent of 300*l.* and a Penſion of 300*l.* a Year.

The *Engliſh* were at this Time, ſo formidable at Sea, that tho' they daily took the *French* Ships as well as the *Dutch*, and made them Prize, and had now ſeized their whole Fleet that was going to the Relief of *Dunkirk* (which was then cloſely beſieged by the *Spaniards*, and by the taking that Fleet, was delivered into their Hands) yet the *French* would not be provoked to be angry with them; but, on the contrary, deſired their Friendſhip upon what Terms they pleaſed.

The *Dutch* Admiral, *Van Tromp*, having, on Account of ſome Reflections thrown on his Conduct in the late Expedition, or being, perhaps, for the ſame Reaſon, in Diſgrace with the States, ſurrendered his Commiſſion, the joint Command of the Fleet was given to *De Witte* and *De Ruyter*, who, about the latter End of *September*, put to Sea with a numerous Fleet, and repaired off of the *North Foreland*. Admiral *Blake* being newly arrived in the *Downs* from the Weſtward, with his Fleet, without Delay, got out to engage them. He had under him Vice-Admiral *Penne*, and Rear-Admiral *Bourne*, the latter of whom began the Engagement, and was ſoon ſeconded by the whole Fleet. The moſt particular Account of this Affair is in a Journal in *Whitlock*, which I ſhall therefore give in his own Words.

Since the Return of our Fleet out of the Weſt, upon the 14th of *September*, Sir *George Ayſcough*, with his *Barbado*'s Fleet, ſet Sail out of the *Downs*, himſelf for *Chatham*, and the reſt for *London*.

September the 25th, the *Holland*'s Fleet appear'd on the Back of the *Goodwin*, but that Night were driven back by a Storm.

The 26th they appeared again, but were forced away by another Storm.

The 27th they appeared the third Time.

Upon their firſt Appearance, it was agreed by a Council of War, that Afternoon, to ſet Sail the next Morning.

But, in the Interim, the Weather proved ſo tedious that we could not with Safety weigh, till the

28th, and then the General, with the Fleet, got under Sail, having a freſh Gale at W. by N.

At Noon we diſcovered the *Dutch*, and at about Three in the Afternoon, the General having not above three of his Squadron up with him (the reſt of our Fleet being a League or two aſtern) only Vice-Admiral *Penne*, with moſt of his Squadron, was near him: Who demanded whether he ſhould leave the General, and bear up among the Enemy? It was anſwered, *That we ſhould bear in all together, as ſome more of our Fleet ſhould come up.*

In this Time, *De Witte*, who commanded the *Dutch* Fleet, which conſiſted of about 59 Sail, all Men of War, and ſome ſingle Veſſels, left his own Ship of 40 Guns, and went on Board the biggeſt of the *India* Ships, of 56 Guns.

About 4 o'Clock, moſt of our Fleet being come near, they gave ſome ſingle Shot, in Bravado, to our Admiral, who bore in among them, and the Vice-Admiral filed, to bear after him.

But it pleaſed God to diſappoint us, being grounded upon a Sand, called the *Kentiſh Knock*, under which they placed themſelves, that we might be neceſſitated to Miſchief, in Caſe we endeavour'd the Weather-gage; and heaving the Lead overboard, we found we had not three Fathom of Water.

Our General, ſailing to Windward of their Admiral, was on Ground, the *Sovereign* was near Muſket-ſhot without us, and ſtruck ſeveral Times, ſo did the *Reſolution*, as alſo the Vice-Admiral, even as they were engaged, and the *Andrew.* But it pleaſed God to deliver them, that they got off immediately, without any Harm, and he turned it to our Advantage; becauſe, being forced thereby to tack our Ship, to clear ourſelves of the Sands, it fell out better to do Execution upon the Enemy, than we could have caſt it ourſelves. For as the *Dutch* Fleet cleared themſelves of our General, he ſtanding to the Northward, and they to the Southward, we fell pat to receive them, and ſo ſtaid by them till Night parted us.

What Damage we did them cannot be exactly known, and what they did us (bleſſed be GOD) was not much. Three of their Ships were wholly diſabled at the firſt Brunt, having loſt all their Maſts, and another as ſhe was towing off. The Rear-Admiral was taken by Captain *Mildmay*, and the ſecond Day they were many leſs than the firſt. The Rear-Admiral, and two other Captains are Priſoners, who ſay, *they conceive by the Striking of* De Witte'*s Antient, and the putting out another of a blue Colour, he is ſlain.*

We have not above 40 Ships in all our Fleet, whereof one Officer, Capt. *Jervis*, is ſlain, and not many wounded. We loſt not one Ship or Frigate, nor did any Veſſels ſhrink from their Work. The Merchant Men of War fell to it to the Purpoſe, and a great Spirit of Reſolution and Gallantry poſſeſſed our whole Fleet.

Our Tackle and Maſts were ſhattered, as is uſual in ſuch Diſputes. At firſt, our Enemy appeared very reſolute, having placed themſelves in a fighting Poſture, before our Ships came up, divided into three Squadrons, and behaved themſelves very ſtoutly; but ſeemed to flag towards the latter End; and I believe, if Providence had allowed us one Hour more, we had made a total End of them.

After this, they abode all Night (as we perceived by their Lights) at a ſmall Diſtance to Leeward of us, which made us ſuppoſe they would have fought us next Morning; but then, as the Day broke, we ſaw them North Eaſt, more than two Leagues off us. We bore up to them; but Wind being contrary, ſo that they had the Wind of us, we could not get up to them.

Our General commanded our Frigates to ply up to them as near as they could, and keep firing at them, while the reſt of us did our beſt to get near them ſome Shot was ſpent, but they hoiſted all their Sails, and ran for it.

September the 30th, by Day-light, they were as far as we could diſcern them, at Top-maſt Head; we purſued them, as far as in Sight of *Weſt Gabel* in *Zealand*, and ſaw them run into *Goree*. Whereupon it was concluded, by a Council of War, ſeeing we were ſo near their Shallows, and ſome of our Frigates wanting Victuals, to return to the *Downs*.

We were commanded not to fire, till we came cloſe to them, and our Artillery did great Execution.

Captain *Mildmay* took their Rear-Admiral, and another Veſſel, in Sight of their Fleet. The Rear-Admiral himſelf, with two Captains, and eighty Men, were made Priſoners, and left the Ship, with the Dead in her, ſinking in the Sea. Three or four more of their Ships were ſeen to ſink. The whole Fleet was the Choiceſt of all their Ships.

An Engagement in the Mediterranean.

THE War was not long confined to the *Narrow Seas*, but ſoon ſpread itſelf far and near. Capt. *Bodley*, who commanded three ſmall Men of War and a Fireſhip, returning with three or four Merchant Ships from *Smyrna* and *Scanderoon*, was attacked by eleven *Dutch* Men of War, under the

Command of their Admiral *Van Galen*, and gallantly fought them for two Days together.

The firſt Day's Fight began in the Afternoon, off of the Iſland of *Elba*, and laſted till Night, without any great Advantage on either Side. Four of the beſt of the *Dutch* Ships ſurrounded Capt. *Bodley*'s Ship, and fought him four Hours together; but were forced, in the End, to fall off, and leave her, many being killed and wounded on both Sides.

Three of the *Dutch* Men of War being ſeparated in the Night, and becalmed, could not come up to the ſecond Day's Engagement; and the *Engliſh* Merchant-men being heavy, and richly laden, were ordered to make the beſt of their Way to the neareſt Harbour. The next Morning the eight remaining *Dutchmen* attack'd the four *Engliſh* with great Fury, and were received with equal Reſolution. *Van Galen* laid the *Engliſh* Commodore on Board, but being diſabled in his Rigging, and having received three Shot under Water, and been three Times on Fire, he was forced to leave him. Another of their largeſt Ships, renewing the Attack, met with the ſame Fate, and loſt her Main-maſt. The *Phenix*, an *Engliſh* Frigate, taking this Opportunity, boarded the *Dutchman*; but while her Men were plundering her, having left their own Ship almoſt empty, another *Dutch* Ship boarded and took her, after a ſharp Fight of an Hour, in which the Men left on Board were almoſt all killed and wounded; whereupon they recovered their own Ship likewiſe.

Bodley being, in the mean Time, again boarded by two of the *Dutch* Ships at once, defended himſelf with ſo much Bravery, that they were both beaten off with a terrible Slaughter of their Men, and the Loſs of both their Captains. *Bodley*, being now left by the Enemy, and having near 100 Men killed and wounded, followed the Merchant

Ships to *Porto-Longone* in *Tuſcany*, and left the *Dutch* to make their own Reckoning of the Honour and Advantage they had gain'd; eſpecially as the *Phenix* was ſhortly after retaken. The *Dutch* Admiral followed them to *Porto-Longone*, where many Civilities paſſed between the Officers on both Sides.

The *Phenix*, we ſaid, was retaken; but in what Manner, we are obliged to the *Dutch* Authors for the following Account. The *Phenix*, ſay they, being given to Capt. *Van Tromp*, whoſe Ship had been quite diſabled in the late Action, lay at Anchor in *Leghorn* Road, where, thinking themſelves ſecure, they ſpent their Time in Jollity and Merriment. Capt. *Cox*, who had been formerly Lieutenant in her, being informed of it, manned out three Boats, with 30 armed Seamen in each, who were furniſhed with Bags of Meal to throw into the *Dutchmen*'s Eyes. Being thus provided, they ſet out in the Evening of St. *Andrew*'s Day, and tho' the Darkneſs for a while made them loſe one another's Company, yet they got together again at Break of Day, and clapped the Frigate on Board. As they were divided into three Companies, ſo each Company had its appointed Work. The firſt was to cut the Cables, the ſecond to govern the Sails, and the third to ſhut down the Seamen under Deck, and to kill all they met with in their Way. Capt. *Tromp*, hearing the Alarm, got out of Bed (or as ſome ſay roſe from Table, being drinking with ſome Friends) and diſcharged his Piſtols two or three Times at the *Engliſh*, who were already Maſters of the Frigate; but finding it was too late to ſave her, leap'd out of the Cabin Window into the Sea, and ſwam, till a *Dutch* Ship took him up. Thus the *Engliſh* regained their Ship, and carried her ſafe to *Naples*.

This happen'd on the 30th of *November*. Not long after, there lay in the Road, a Squadron of *Dutch* Ships, and the *Engliſh* Commodore *Appleton* with Six *Engliſh* Ships.

The Great Duke of *Tuſcany* being informed of this Action, and looking upon it as a Violation of the Neutrality of his Port, ordered the *Engliſh* either to reſtore the *Phenix*, or to depart. The *Dutch* Admiral, *Van Galen*, lay before the Harbour to intercept them, with ſixteen Men of War, and a Fire-ſhip, and ſeveral ſtout Merchant Ships, equipped for Battle; and yet they choſe to run this Hazard, rather than deliver the Ship.

Commodore *Bodley* lay at the Iſland of *Elba* with two Men of War, a Fire-ſhip, and the four Merchant Ships which were at the former Engagement with *Van Galen*. To him *Appleton* ſent an Expreſs, deſiring him to appear, about the Time fixed, with all his Ships, within Sight of *Leghorn*, to amuſe the *Dutch*, and ſo open a Paſſage for *Appleton* to eſcape.

According to Agreement, *Bodley* came within Sight of the Place, and ordered three or four of his beſt Sailors to advance towards the *Dutch* Squadron, which thereupon ſtood out to Sea and gave them Chace. *Appleton* embraced this Opportunity to get out of the Harbour; but too ſoon: For the *Dutch* perceiving the Stratagem, tack'd about, and fell upon *Appleton*'s Squadron, with nine of their Men of War, leaving the reſt to obſerve *Bodley*.

An unfortunate Shot from *Valen Galen*'s Ship ſet Fire to the *Bonaventure*, at the Beginning of the Engagement, and ſoon after ſhe blew up. At the ſame Time a Shot from that Ship broke *Van Galen*'s Leg, of which, in a few Days, he died at *Leghorn*. In the mean Time, *Appleton* was attack'd by two of the *Dutch* at once; againſt whom he maintain'd a cloſe Fight for four or five Hours, with ſuch Bravery, that both the *Dutch* Ships were ſo diſabled, as to be ſcarce capable to fire a Shot. *Van Galen*, ſeeing the Reſolution of the *Engliſh* Commodore, and going, tho' ſo deſperately wounded, to the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, was in great Danger from a Fire-ſhip ſent off from *Bodley*'s Squadron, but another Ship coming to the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, who were engaged with *Appleton*, they renewed the Attack with great Vigour, and obliged him to yield. Young *Van Tromp*, attacking the *Sampſon*, was beaten off, after a deſperate Fight; but the *Sampſon* was ſoon after burnt by a Fire-ſhip. The *Levant-Merchant*, being encounter'd by one of the Enemy's Ships, beat her off, and ſtranded her; but being at laſt taken, together with the *Pilgrim* (which had loſt her Main and Mizzen-Maſts in the Fight) the *Mary*, being left alone, made her Eſcape, and joined the neareſt Ships of *Bodley*'s Squadron; which put an End to the Engagement.

A ſecond Engagement between Admiral BLAKE *and* VAN TROMP.

ALmoſt all the Ports of *England* being filled with the Riches of the *Dutch*, by the numerous Prizes of that Nation, daily brought into them, the States began to think ſeriouſly of retrieving the Loſſes and Diſgraces they had ſuſtain'd, by ſome Action equally bold and advantageous. For the Execution of this their Deſign, they began to caſt their Eyes again on *Van Tromp* (who had been laid aſide) and the King of *Denmark*, at the ſame Time, recommending him ſtrenuouſly to their Favour, they reſtored him to the Command: Which he very readily accepted, and ſoon got together a Fleet of 80 Men of War, and ten Fire-ſhips.

It being now the Beginning of *November*, 1652, a Seaſon of the Year in which no farther Action was thought of, *Blake* had for the moſt Part ſeparated his Fleet. Twenty of his Ships were detached to convoy a Fleet of Colliers from *Newcaſtle*; twelve were ſailed to *Plymouth*, and fifteen more were ſailed up the *Thames*.

Van Tromp put to Sea, with the Deſign of convoying a large Fleet of 300 Merchant-men thro' the Channel, as far as Cape *St. Lazard*; but having Advice of the Weakneſs of *Blake*'s Fleet, repaired off of the *Goodwin* Sands, not far from the Place where the laſt Battle was fought.

Blake lying in the *Downs* with about 40 Men of War, and a few Tenders, of which hardly twenty had their full Complement of Men on Board, it was reſolved in a Council of War, notwithſtanding this great Superiority of the Enemy, to give them Battle. To this End *Blake* immediately got under Sail, and ſent ſeven of his Ships a-head on Diſcovery. Theſe Ships meeting the 29th of *November*, with nine *Dutch* Ships, who were ſent out on the ſame Service, began the Fight, about Noon, and were ſoon ſeconded by more Ships on both Sides, which drew on a general Engagement about Three. This Battle was fought with great Fury on both Sides, from one in the Afternoon, till it was dark Night.

Blake, in the *Triumph*, with her Seconds, the *Victory* and the *Vanguard*, was long engaged with near twenty of the Enemy, and was very near borne down with ſo ſuperior a Force. But being at length relieved by ſome other Ships, the Fight continued as furious, and, notwithſtanding the Superiority of the Enemy, as doubtful as if they had been equal, for ſome Time; but their Number, in the End, in ſome Meaſure prevailing, they took the *Garland* and the *Bonaventure*, and ſunk three other Ships. But we muſt not omit the gallant Attempt of the Commanders of the two Ships that were taken, which, tho' it proved unſucceſsful, deſerves to be mentioned to their Honour. Thus it is related by their *Dutch* Hiſtorians.

Akſon and *Battin*, which were the Names of theſe two bold Commanders, had formed the Deſign of boarding and taking *Van Tromp*. The former Part of their Project they performed, with an unparalleled Intrepidity; but Succeſs did not attend their Expectations in the latter. They found *Van Tromp* ſo well ſeconded by *Evertzen*, Vice-Admiral of *Zealand*, and others, that after having grappled him, killed his Secretary and Purſer by his Side, loſt almoſt all their Men, and made great Havock among the *Dutch*, they found themſelves too weak to compleat their noble and well-laid Deſign, the former being taken by *Tromp*, and the latter by *Evertzen*.

Blake ſeeing the Danger the *Garland* and *Bonaventure* were expoſed to, forced his Way into a Throng of the Enemy's Ships, to relieve them; but being himſelf attacked and boarded by ſeveral of the Enemy's ſtouteſt Ships, could not come at them. He, however, beat off the Ships which boarded him, ſeveral Times, and, in the End, found an Opportunity of rejoining his Fleet.

At laſt, Night having parted the two Fleets, *Blake* ſuppoſing he had ſufficiently ſecured the Nation's Honour, as well as his own, by engageing with ſo ſuperior an Enemy, and coming off with ſo little Loſs: And beſides, ſeeing no Proſpect of Advantage, by renewing the Fight, retired to the River. This inconſiderable Succeſs was

Matter of great Triumph to the *Dutch*; and *Van Tromp* was ſo puffed up with it, as to paſs through the Channel with a Broom at his Main-Top-Maſt Head, as it were to ſweep the Sea of the *Engliſh*; tho' he paid dearly for it afterwards. This ſmall Advantage the *Dutch* purchaſed at a dear Rate, one of their Flag-Ships being blown up, and the other two very much ſhattered, beſides the Loſs of a great Number of Men.

BLAKE *and* DEAN'*s three Days Engagement with the* Dutch *under* VAN TROMP.

NOtwithſtanding the popular Clamour that was raiſed againſt *Blake* for his Conduct in the late Action, the Parliament declared their Approbation of it, by continuing him in the Command of the numerous Fleet, which they fitted out with great Expedition; which was no ſooner at Sea, than a good Opportunity offered of trying their Valour upon more equal Terms, than in the laſt Engagement.

With *Blake* were joined *Dean* and *Monk*, the latter having been ſent out of *Scotland* for that Purpoſe; and their Orders were to ſail to the Weſtward, to intercept the *Dutch* Fleet coming from the Iſle of *Rhee*. The States, upon Advice of the great Preparations made in *England*, ſent an Expreſs to *Van Tromp*, who was then at the Iſle of *Rhee*, to return with all Expedition, and endeavour to prevent the *Engliſh* from coming out, by blocking up the River; but *Tromp*, to his great Aſtoniſhment, when he was got to the Height of *Portland*, fell in with the *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of about ſeventy Sail.

The *Dutch* Fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-ſix Men of War, having 300 Merchant-Ships under their Convoy. The four Squadrons, into which this Fleet was divided, were commanded by *Van Tromp*, *De Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, and the Admiral of the Northern Quarter. The eighth of *February*, 1653, about eight in the Morning, the *Dutch* following their Courſe up the Channel, with the Advantage of the Wind (as their Writers ſay) began the Fight, when but one Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet was come up: And conformable to this, our Hiſtorians ſay, that the *Triumph*, in which were the Admirals *Blake* and *Dean*, with twelve Ships more, the reſt of the Fleet being not yet come up, engaged Board on Board, with the Body of the *Dutch* Fleet, for near ſix Hours. The *Triumph* had received a great Number of Shot in her Hull, and began to be ſorely preſſed by the Enemy, when ſhe was gallantly ſupported by Captain *Lawſon* in the *Fairfax*. Theſe two Ships being ſurrounded by ſeveral of the Enemy's largeſt Ships, ſuffered much, and had each of them near 100 Men killed and wounded. *Blake* himſelf was wounded in his Thigh, and his Captain, *Ball*, and Secretary *Sparrow*, were both ſlain by his Side; and his Ship the *Triumph* was ſo ſhattered, that ſhe was debarred from partaking of the Victories of the following Days.

The *Engliſh* Fleet being now entirely come up, there enſued the moſt furious Fight that had been during the Courſe of this ſhort, but bloody War. The *Dutch* were ſo hotly attacked on all Sides, that (according to their own Confeſſion) about four o' Clock, twenty-ſix of their beſt Ships forſook the Battle, and left the reſt to the Fury of the *Engliſh*.

During this Time, on our Side, the *Proſperous*, a Ship of forty-four Guns, was boarded, and taken by *De Ruyter*, but while he himſelf was incurring near the ſame Fate, ſhe was retaken by the *Merlin*. The Captain of the *Vanguard*, *Mildmay*, was killed, and ſeveral of the Ships much diſabled, but not one taken, nor one loſt, but the *Sampſon*, which being rendered unfit for Service, they ſunk themſelves.

As for the Enemy, they had ſix or ſeven Men of War either ſunk or taken, one of which carried a Flag. And beſides theſe, their own Hiſtorians mention another Ship, commanded by one *Winchman*, or *Wincklem*, which blew up, and another that was burnt. Great Slaughter was made among the Officers and Seamen on *Van Tromp*'s own Ship, which, in the Beginning, was for a conſiderable Time engaged with *Blake*, till ſhe was ſeaſonably relieved by a Ship that interpoſed between the two Admirals, and having been roughly handled, he made the beſt of his Way up the Channel. *De Ruyter* having loſt his Main-Maſt, and Fore-Top-Maſt, was in Danger of being taken, but was bravely relieved by *Evertzen*.

The following Night was chiefly ſpent in repairing the Damages, and making the neceſſary Preparations for renewing the Fight the next Morning. When the *Engliſh* Admirals had ſent into *Portſmouth*, thoſe Ships that had ſuffered moſt in the Fight, they followed the Enemy, and coming up with them off *Dungeneſs*, tho' moſt of their Ships were yet behind, began a ſecond Engagement.

Van Tromp having rallied his Fleet, and put his Merchant-Ships behind him, which were incloſed in the Form of a Half-Moon, bravely ſtood the firſt Charge, but then made a running Fight of it, retreating towards the *French* Coaſts.

The *Engliſh* made ſeveral bold and hazardous Attempts to break thro' to the Merchant-Men; in one of which *De Ruyter*'s Ship was ſo hard put to it, that he was obliged to have her towed out of the Fleet; and, about the ſame Time, Captain *Lawſon* boarded one of the *Dutch* Men of War, and brought her off. At length, the Merchant-Men perceiving their Convoy was no longer in a Condition to protect them, ſhifted for themſelves, and for the greater Expedition, threw a good Part of their Loading over-board.

According to the Account given by *Blake*, eight Men of War, and fourteen or ſixteen Merchant-Ships were taken, and the Fruits of this Day's Victory would have been greater, had not the Night ſo ſoon interpoſed.

The third Day, the *Dutch* purſuing their Courſe to their own Coaſts, and the *Engliſh* continuing to follow them, the Fight was renewed, and laſted with great Fury and Bravery on both Sides, till four in the Afternoon, when the *Dutch* retreated to the Sands before *Calais*, and from thence tided into the *Wielings*. In this Purſuit three *Dutch* Men of War were taken by *Lawſon*, *Martin*, and *Grave*, and ſeveral Merchant-Men, by *Penne*, and others; but Ammunition beginning to fall ſhort, and the *Dutch* being almoſt got within Protection of their own Flats, the *Engliſh* gave over the Chace. The *Dutch* loſt, in theſe three Days Actions, eleven Ships of War, and thirty (*Clarendon* ſays fifty) Merchant-Ships, 1500 Men killed, and a great Number of Priſoners. On the *Engliſh* Side there was but one Ship ſunk by themſelves, tho' the Number of the Slain was not perhaps much inferior to that of the Enemy.

About this Time, the King, believing he had many Friends among the Commanders of the

Engliſh Fleet, made an Offer to the States, of putting himſelf aboard their Fleet, if he might have the Command of the *Engliſh* Ships which ſhould come over to him. But the States did not think fit to accept his Offer, for Fear of keeping open a Wound they began to wiſh healed. Peace was what they wanted, and under-hand ſued for: And *Cromwell*, who ſtood in as great Need of it as they, to ſecure his own Intereſt, privately laboured with them for an Accommodation.

Two Engagements at Sea between the Engliſh *and* Dutch *Fleets.*

THE *Dutch*, finding the Hopes of a Peace fruſtrated, were very aſſiduous in their Preparations for carrying on the War. For which Purpoſe they ſtrictly examined the Conduct of their Sea-Officers, rewarding ſome, and puniſhing others, and chuſing ſuch as they thought they could beſt depend upon. The *Engliſh*, on their Side, got ready near 150 Sail of ſtout Ships under the Command of the Admirals *Monk* and *Dean*, in joint Commiſſion, aſſiſted by Vice-Admiral *Penne*, and Mr. *Lawſon*, now made a Rear-Admiral, and being ready, were ſent over to look out for the Enemy on their own Coaſts. The *Dutch* were not yet ready, but lay diſperſed in their ſeveral Harbours; upon which the *Engliſh* ravaged their Coaſts, took many Prizes, and returned.

Van Tromp, in the mean Time, getting out of the *Texel*, conveyed a great Fleet of Merchant-Ships North about, whither he was purſued by the *Engliſh* Fleet to the Height of *Aberdeen*; but eſcaping, returned, and joined the other Squadrons, which now made a Fleet of 120 Sail, commanded by *Van Tromp*, *De Ruyter*, *De Witte*, and *Evertzen*.

The firſt of *June* 1653, while the *Engliſh* Fleet were lying at Anchor in *Yarmouth-Road*, Advice was brought, that the *Dutch* Fleet had been ſeen upon the Coaſt; upon which they immediately weighed Anchor, and went in Search of the Enemy. *July* 3, they met, and being both eager to engage, the Fight began about Eleven o'Clock off the South-Point of the *Glober*. The *Engliſh Blue Squadron* charging thro' the Enemy, *De Ruyter*'s Diviſion ſuffered much, and himſelf was in the greateſt Danger of being taken or ſunk by *Lawſon*, till relieved by *Tromp*: But *Lawſon* ſoon after ſunk one of their Men of War of forty-two Guns.

In the Beginning of the Action *Dean* was unfortunately killed by a Chain Shot, which took him off in the Middle; but *Monk*, who was in the ſame Ship, covering his Body with his Cloak, and encouraging his Men, the Battle continued with equal Fury on both Sides, till about Three in the Afternoon, when the Enemy began to ſheer off, and maintain a Sort of running Fight, which laſted till nine in the Evening, when one of the *Dutch* Men of War blew up.

The *Dutch* retreating towards *Flanders*, the Fight was renewed the next Day, about Noon, with greater Fury than the Day before, and laſted four Hours. Admiral *Blake*, who had joined the Fleet the Night before with eighteen freſh Ships, had his Share in the Honour of this ſecond Victory. During the Engagement, *Van Tromp* having boarded Vice-Admiral *Penne* was beaten off, and being boarded in his Turn, was forced to blow up his Deck, of which the *Engliſh* had made themſelves Maſters: But being again entered by *Penne*, and another at once, he would have been in extreme Danger of being taken or burnt, if he had not been inſtantly relieved by *De Witte* and *De Ruyter*. The Enemy was at length ſo hotly preſſed on every Side, that they fell into the utmoſt Diſorder, and being entirely routed, were glad to ſave themſelves by Flight among the Flats, near *Newport*, from whence they afterwards got into *Zealand*. Six of the Enemy's beſt Ships were ſunk, two blown up, and eleven Ships and two Hoys taken, and 1350 Men made Priſoners, ſix of whom were Captains of Note.

After this Defeat, the States continued their private Overtures of Peace to *Cromwell*, who, having got rid of his Parliament, received them very haughtily, and with ſome Reprehenſion for their Temerity, in entering into ſo unequal a Contention, yet declared his Willingneſs to enter into a Treaty. The *Dutch*, however, were not remiſs, but rather very diligent in fitting out another Fleet; and the latter End of *July Van Tromp* put to Sea, with ninety-five Ships from *Zealand*, being ſoon after joined by *De Witte*, with twenty-five more from the *Texel*.

They had not been long at Sea, before one of the moſt fierce and bloody Actions enſued that had been fought during the whole War; of which *Whitlock* has given us the following Account.

The 29th of *July*, about Nine in the Morning, having weighed Anchor the Night before, the *Dutch* Fleet was diſcovered by our Scouts a-head, coming from the *Wielings*, conſiſting of ninety-five Ships, or thereabouts, whereof ninety were Men of War. Whereupon the *Engliſh* made Sail after them, fitting their Ships, in the mean Time, for an Engagement. The Enemy tacked about, and ſtood off from the *Engliſh*, as ſoon as they perceived what they were; ſo that it was five o' Clock in the Evening before any of our Frigates could come up with them, to engage them, which they did.

This forced the *Dutch* to make a Halt; upon which, about Seven o' Clock in the Evening, the *Reſolution* (on Board of which was Admiral *Monk)* with as many Ships and Frigates as made up thirty Sail, engaged them, the reſt being aſtern, could not get up; however, they fell to work, and continued fighting till Night parted them, which was about Nine o'Clock.

After which, it being dark, all Hands were at Work to bring ſome new Sails to the Yards, and mend the Rigging, in which the *Engliſh* had ſuffered very much, in ſo ſhort a Time. Sixteen were killed outright, and twenty-five wounded.

The next Day little was done, as to any Engagement, both Fleets finding Work enough to get off from a Lee Shore, the Wind blowing hard, with thick and dirty Weather.

The next Morning, being fair and little Wind, both Fleets prepared for a new Engagement. The *Dutch* bore in upon the *Engliſh*, having the Wind of them. About Seven in the Morning, twenty-five great Ships from the *Texel* joined them, and then the Fight began to be very hot, and continued ſo till one in the Afternoon, the Enemy having the Wind all the while, whereby they had the Opportunity of taking all Advantages.

Yet, by this Time, they began to bear away, making all the Sail they could, the Remainder of the Fleet, being not above ſixty, left of all their Fleet. As far as can be diſcerned, there cannot be leſs than thirty or forty ſunk, taken and deſtroyed. The Purſuit is continued, ſome of the beſt ſailing *Engliſh* Frigates, being almoſt up with them. The Enemy had nine Flag-Ships when the Fight began,

gan, of which but one is left; ſome are known to be ſunk.

In this Engagement the *Engliſh* had two Ships fired by the *Dutch*; the *Oak* one of them, had moſt of her Men ſaved; but of the other none eſcaped. The *Worceſter* took the *Garland*, a Ship taken by the *Dutch* in a former Engagement, but they were obliged to ſet Fire to her. *Tromp*'s Flag was ſhot down in the Morning, and could not be made to ſtand all the Day after.

During the Fight, the *Victory*, commanded by Captain *Lane*, was hard beſet by one of the *Dutch* Vice-Admirals, and two other Men of War, but made her party good. Another *Dutch* Vice-Admiral, miſtaking the Condition of the *Engliſh* Ship, as well as the Reſolution of her Captain, officiouſly came up and offered him Quarter, if he would yield; but he, not taking the Compliment as the *Dutchman* meant it, returned it with a Broad-ſide, which immediately ſunk him.

Thus far this Account, which, according to *Whitlock*, was ſent to the Parliament by the Admirals *Monk*, *Penne*, &c. in the Evening the ſame Day it was fought. And the above Circumſtances were confirmed in a few Days, with the particular Advice, that the *Dutch* had thirty Men of War ſunk, and 1000 Priſoners taken, among whom was Vice-Admiral *Evertzen*, one of their moſt valiant and beſt Seamen; and *Van Tromp*, and many others of Note, were killed.

Notwithſtanding the Orders given by *Monk*, neither to give nor take Quarter, the Priſoners were compaſſionately taken up as they were ſwimming in the Sea.

The *Engliſh* had 250 Men ſlain, and 700 wounded; of *Engliſh* Captains were ſlain, *Graves*, *Cox*, *Chapman* and *Peacock*; and wounded, *Stokes*, *Seaman*, *Rouſe*, *Holland*, and *Cubit*. The Enemy's whole Loſs (as they themſelves owned) was about 6000 Men, and 27 Ships.

The *Dutch*, after this Loſs, ordered that three of their States ſhould go on Board their Fleet, to aſſiſt their Officers with Advice.

Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, who continued on the Coaſt with about 50 Ships, took about 20 *Dutch* Veſſels; and ſome Time after, about 18 more fell into his Hands; ſome Fiſhermen, and ſome Buſſes, which he ſent into *Yarmouth*.

Soon after, 35 *Dutch* Prizes were ſent into *Yarmouth*, and there-abouts, laden with *French* Wines, Fiſh, and other Commodities.

The *Dutch* had ſuffered ſo extremely, that they gladly ſued again for Peace; and after having ſpent the beſt Part of the Winter in the Negociation, were willing to accept of it on *Cromwell*'s own Terms; accordingly it was ſigned in *April* following.

Thus (ſays the Author of *Columna Roſtrata)* ended the moſt vigorous War, that ever was maintained at Sea. It was begun and finiſhed in the ſhort Space of one Year and eleven Months; yet, in that Time, the *Engliſh* took no leſs than 1700 Prizes, valued by the *Dutch* themſelves, at ſixty-two Millions of Guilders, or near ſix Millions Sterling. On the contrary, thoſe taken by the *Dutch*, did not amount to the fourth Part, either in Number or Value. Within that Time the *Engliſh* were victorious, in no leſs than five general Fights, ſome of which laſted ſeveral Days; whereas the *Dutch* cannot juſtly boaſt of having gained one: For the Action between *De Ruyter* and *Ayſcough*, in which they pretended to ſome Advantage, was no general Fight: And the Advantage gain'd by *Van Tromp* in the *Downs*, is owned to have been gained but over a Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet. This ſhort War reduced the *Dutch* to greater Extremities, than the long War of 80 Years had done, againſt the Crown of *Spain*. And one of their own Authors allows, that in this ſhort War, and in the Time of the Northern Troubles, which followed, between the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, his Countrymen had loſt more than they had gained in twenty Years before.

Some of the Conditions of the Peace, now concluded, were, the Payment of lage Sums for Damages done to the *Engliſh* thirty Years before; particularly, 300,000 *l.* for the Affair of *Amboyna*; to deliver up the Iſland of *Poleroon*, in the *Eaſt Indies*; to conſent to the Striking of the Flag; to abandon the Intereſt of *Charles*, &c.

CROMWELL'S *Preparations for a new War. Two Fleets fitted out; one for the* Weſt Indies, *under the Command of* PENNE *and* VENABLES; *the other for the* Mediterranean, *under* BLAKE: *An Account of the Firſt.*

IMmediately after the Concluſion of the *Dutch* War, the Protector ordered all the Ships of his Navy to be repaired, and put into a good Condition; many new ones to be built; Store-houſes, Magazines, *&c.* to be filled with Ammunition and Proviſion: Whence it was evident enough that he intended not to be idle, tho' no-body knew againſt whom this mighty Force was to be exerted. In the Summer of the Year 1654, he ordered two great Fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by Admiral *Blake*, and the other by Vice-Admiral *Penne*. Neither of theſe had any Knowledge of what the other was to attempt; nor, in Truth, what themſelves were to perform. Their Orders were to be open'd at Sea, and they had no further Lights given them, than were abſolutely requiſite for making the neceſſary Preparations. We ſhall firſt give an Account of the Expedition under the Conduct of Admiral *Penne* and General *Venables*.

The Fleet commanded by Admiral *Penne*, conſiſted of about thirty Men of War, which were order'd to rendezvous at *Portſmouth*, where the Land Forces, which conſiſted of 2000 old Cavaliers, as many of *Oliver*'s ſtanding Army, and neceſſitated Perſons, were order'd to embark. *Venables*, who was appointed General of the Land Forces, had deſired of *Cromwell*, that great Care might be taken in furniſhing Arms and Ammunition; that his Forces might be properly choſen, and that himſelf might not be fetter'd by his Inſtructions. In all theſe he ſoon found himſelf diſappointed; his Proviſion was not only ſhort in Quantity, but very bad in its Kind; Arms and Ammunition were very ſparingly ſupplied; his Troops were either raw or Invalids; and, by his Inſtructions, he was tied up from doing any Thing without the Conſent of others. Before he could acquire any certain Knowledge of theſe Particulars, he was hurried on Board at *Portſmouth*, whence he immediately ſailed for *Barbados*; where they arrived, in *Carliſle* Bay, the 29th of *January*, 1665, and were joyfully received by the Inhabitants of the Iſland. Here they ſtaid ſome Time, in order to recruit, and make the neceſſary Preparations for a Deſcent on the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*.

Here General *Venables* found himſelf deficient in all Sorts of Neceſſaries, and, what was worſe, found Admiral *Penne* very little inclin'd to afford him even the Aſſiſtance that was in his Power. He expoſtulated with him to no Purpoſe, which made the Wretchedneſs of his and their Condition ſo apparent, that one of their Fellow-Commiſſioners ſaid plainly, *he doubted they were betray'd.* However, it was too late to look back, and beſides, Abundance of Voluntiers reſorted to *Barbados* from all our Plantations, in order to ſhare the Riches that were to be taken from the *Spaniards*; ſo that *Venables* ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity of proceeding, tho' he was convinced they were in no Condition for ſuch an Attempt.

From *Barbados* the Fleet ſailed the laſt of *March* to *St. Chriſtophers*, where they met with another Supply of Voluntiers; ſo that when they embarked for *Hiſpaniola*, *Venables* had under his Command the greateſt Body of *European* Troops that had ever been ſeen in that Part of the World, his Army conſiſting of near 10,000 Men; but in a very ill Temper to make Conqueſts. Moſt of them, when they left *England*, did it with a View to make Conqueſts; but now the Commiſſioners (of whom indeed *Venables* was one, but of a different Opinion from the reſt) told them, that every Penny of their Plunder was to be accounted for, and that they could only allow them a Fortnight's Pay by way of Equivalent. This had like to have thrown them into a general Mutiny, and it was with much ado that the Officers pacified them with a Promiſe of ſix Weeks Pay, which the Commiſſioners however would not be brought to confirm; and in this Situation Things were when they embarked for *Hiſpaniola*.

They arrived before the City of *St. Domingo*, and General *Venables* propoſed that they ſhould ſail directly into the Harbour; which was over-ruled by the Officers, who propoſed landing at the River *Hine*; for which Purpoſe Part of the Squadron was detached under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Goodſon*; who, when at Sea, declared he had no Pilots to conduct the Ships into the Mouth of the River, and therefore the Troops were compelled to land (notwithſtanding General *Venables* proteſted againſt it) at the Weſt Point, from whence they had forty Miles to march thro' a thick woody Country, without any Guide; inſomuch, that Numbers of Men and Horſes, thro' Fatigue, Extremity of Heat, and Want of Water, periſhed. After four Days March the Army came to the Place, where they might have been firſt put a-ſhore; but by that Time the Enemy had drawn together the whole Force of the Iſland, and recover'd from their firſt Surprize. Col. *Buller*, who had landed with his Regiment near *Hine* River, and had Orders to remain there till the Army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of *Cox* the Guide, to march away; and for want of this Guide, the General with his Forces marched 10 or 12 Miles out of the Road. Exaſperated with theſe Diſappointments, and the Hardſhips they had undergone, the Regiment of Seamen, under Vice-Admiral *Goodſon*, mutinied firſt, and then the Land Forces; ſo that the General had much ado to prevail on them to ford the River. At length, Col. *Buller*, and *Cox* the Guide, joined them, and promiſed to conduct them to a Place where they might be ſupplied with Water; but this Colonel taking the Liberty of Straggling for the Sake of Pillage, the *Spaniards* attack'd him, and in one of thoſe Skirmiſhes, *Cox*, their only Guide, was killed;

yet the *Spaniards* were at laſt repulſed, within Cannon Shot of the Town.

In this diſtreſſed Condition, a Council of War was called; wherein, after mature Deliberation, it was reſolved to march to the Harbour, in the beſt Manner they could, which, with much Difficulty, they effected. There they ſtaid three or four Days to furniſh themſelves with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries, and then, with a ſingle Mortar-piece, marched into the Iſland again, to reduce the Fort. The Vanguard was commanded by Adjutant-General *Jackſon*, who, as ſoon as he was attacked by the *Spaniards*, ran away, and his Troops after him. The Paſſage thro' the Woods being very narrow, they preſſed on the General's Regiment, who in vain endeavoured to ſtop them with their Pikes. They likewiſe diſorder'd Major-General *Haines*'s Regiment, which gave the Enemy, who follow'd very eagerly, and gave no Quarter, great Advantage, ſo that the Major-General, and the braveſt of the Officers, who, like *Engliſhmen*, preferred Death before Flight, ended their Days here. At laſt General *Venables*, and Vice-Admiral *Goodſon*, at the Head of their Regiments, forced the Runaways into the Wood, obliged the Enemy to retreat, and kept their own Ground, notwithſtanding the Fire from the Fort was very warm.

By this Time the Forces were ſo much fatigued and diſcouraged, that they could not be brought to play the Mortar. The General, though reduced to a very low Condition by the Flux, cauſed himſelf to be led from Place to Place, to encourage them; till fainting at laſt, he was forced to leave the Care to Major General *Forteſcue*, who did what he could to revive their Spirits, but to very little Purpoſe.

Soon after, it was reſolved in a Council of War, that ſince the Enemy had fortified all the Paſſes, and the whole Army was in the utmoſt Diſtreſs for Want of Water, they ſhould march to a Place where they were informed a Supply of that, and other Neceſſaries, had been put aſhore from the Ships. In this March, the Soldiers followed their Officers, till they found themſelves in Danger, and then left them; inſomuch, that the Commiſſioners owned, by a Letter they wrote to the Governor of *Barbados*, that, had not the Enemy been as fearful as their own Men, they might in a few Days have deſtroyed the whole Army; and withal, they let him know, that thoſe who had occaſioned the greateſt Diſorder, were thoſe of *Barbados* and *St. Chriſtophers*; inſomuch, that the ſaid Commiſſioners, who were *Penne*, *Winſlow*, and *Buller*, had reſolved to leave the Place, and try what could be done againſt the Iſland of *Jamaica*.

Such was the End of this Expedition, having been on Shore from the 14th of *April*, to the 1ſt of *May*, when the Reſolution of ſailing to *Jamaica* was taken.

For this Iſland the Army was accordingly in a little Time embarked; but the Sick and Wounded were left on the bare Decks for eight and forty Hours, without either Meat, Drink, or Dreſſing; inſomuch, that Worms bred in their Sores; and while they were on Shore, the Proviſions that were ſent to them were not water'd, but candied with Salt, notwithſtanding they had not Water ſufficient to quench their Thirſt. Nay, after their Misfortunes on Shore, *Venables* averr'd, that *Penne* gave Rear-Admiral *Blagge* Orders not to furniſh them with any more Proviſions of what Kind ſoever; ſo that they eat up all the Dogs, Aſſes, and Horſes in the Camp, and ſome of them ſuch Things as were in themſelves poiſonous, of which about 40 died. Before the Forces were embarked, Adjutant General *Jackſon* was tried at a Court-Martial, and not only ſentenced to be caſhier'd, and his Sword broken over his Head, but to do the Duty of a Swabber, in keeping clean the Hoſpital Ship; a Puniſhment ſuitable to his notorious Cowardice.

The Deſcent on *Jamaica* was better managed than that on *Hiſpaniola*; for immediately on their Landing, which was on the 3d of *May*, General *Venables* iſſued out Orders, that if any Man ſhould be found attempting to run away, the next Man to him ſhould put him to Death; which if he failed to do, he ſhould be liable to a Court-Martial. The next Day they attacked a Fort, which they carried, and were then preparing to ſtorm the Town of *St. Jago*, which the *Spaniſh* Inhabitants prevented by a timely Treaty; yet before the General would liſten to any Propoſitions of Peace, he inſiſted, that a certain Quantity of Proviſions ſhould be ſent him daily, which was punctually performed; and this gave his Soldiers Strength and Spirit, and in a ſhort Time their Negotiations ended in a complete Surrender of the Iſland to the *Engliſh*.

General *Venables* finding himſelf in a very weak Condition, deſired the Conſent of the Commiſſioners to open their ultimate Inſtructions, to which, after mature Deliberation, they yielded. In theſe he found he had a Power, in Caſe of Neceſſity, to reſign his Command; which he accordingly did to General *Forteſcue*. Admiral *Penne* followed his Example, and delivered up his Charge to Vice-Admiral *Goodſon*, with whom he left a ſtout Squadron, and with the reſt of the Fleet returned to *England*. In their Paſſage Home, they fell in with the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet, in the Gulph of *Florida*, but without attacking it; but whether thro' Want of

Will or Inſtructions, is at this Diſtance difficult to determine.

Immediately after the Return of *Penne* and *Venables*, which was in the Month of *September*, 1655, they were both committed cloſe Priſoners to the Tower, to ſatisfy the Clamours of the People, who (as is commonly the Caſe) laid the greateſt Blame on him who leaſt deſerved it. All that the Protector inſiſted on, was, that they ſhould confeſs their Faults, in leaving their reſpective Charge; and he promiſed to releaſe them upon their Submiſſion; but *Venables* abſolutely refuſed it, inſiſting that he had committed no Fault, ſince in Caſe of Inability to execute his Duty, his Inſtructions permitted him to reſign his Command. He was therefore continued in Cuſtody, but, after ſome Time, releaſed.

This Expedition was a ſufficient Declaration of War againſt *Spain*; and in Conſequence thereof, all the Effects belonging to the *Engliſh* Merchants in that Kingdom were ſeized, by Order of the King, as well there, as in all his other Dominions, to the very great Loſs of the Nation: But a more conſiderable Loſs, was that of the *Spaniſh* Trade, which by this inconſiderate War, was laid open to the *French* and *Dutch*.

Admiral BLAKE's *Expedition to* Tunis, Tripoli, *and* Algiers.

DUring the Expedition of *Penne* and *Venables* to the *Weſt-Indies*, as above related, Admiral *Blake* ſailed with his Fleet to the *Streights*, where his Orders were to procure Satisfaction from ſuch

Princes and States, as had either inſulted the Government, or injured the Commerce of *England*. But before his Departure, it was induſtriouſly given out, that his Orders were to intercept the Duke of *Guiſe*, and to protect the Kingdom of *Naples* from the *French*. This had the deſired Effect; it lull'd the *Spaniards* aſleep, and even diſpoſed them to ſhew the Admiral all poſſible Civilities, who, probably, had, as yet, no Suſpicion of *Cromwell*'s Deſign to break with them.

The firſt Place he went to was *Leghorn*, where he had two Accounts to make up with the Grand Duke. The firſt was, for his Subjects purchaſing the Prizes made by Prince *Rupert*; the other was for the Damage done by *Van Galen*, when *Appleton* was forced out of *Leghorn* Road. Theſe Demands ſurprized the Prince on whom they were made; eſpecially, when he underſtood a large Sum was expected from him, not leſs than 150,000 *l.* which, however, was moderated to 60,000 *l.* and this Sum was actually paid. Thence he proceeded to *Algiers*, where he arrived the 10th of *March*, 1655, and anchor'd without the Mole, ſending an Officer to the Dey to demand Satisfaction for the Piracies committed on the *Engliſh*, and the Releaſe of all Captives belonging to his Nation. The Dey anſwer'd very modeſtly, that as for the Ships and Slaves, they were now the Property of private Perſons, from whom he could not take them with Safety; but that he would make it his Care they ſhould be redeemed upon eaſy Terms, and would make a Treaty with him to prevent any Hoſtilities from being committed for the future. The Admiral left the Port upon this, and ſailed to *Tunis*, where he ſent the like Meſſage on Shore; but received a very ſhort Anſwer, *viz. Here are our Caſtles of* Guletta *and* Porto Ferino: *You may do your worſt; we do* *not fear you. Blake* entered the Bay of *Porto Ferino*, and came within Muſket-ſhot of the Caſtle and Line, which he played upon ſo warmly, that they were ſoon in a defenceleſs Condition. There were then nine Ships in the Road, which the Admiral reſolved to burn; and with this View ordered all the Captains in his Fleet to man their Long-boats with choice Men, and directed theſe to enter the Harbour and fire the Ships of *Tunis*, while he and his Fleet cover'd them from the Caſtle, by playing continually on it with their Cannon. The Seamen in their Boats boldly aſſaulted the Pirates, and burnt all their Ships, with the Loſs of 25 Men killed, and 48 wounded. This daring Action ſpread the Terror of his Name thro' *Africa* and *Aſia*, which had long been formidable in *Europe*. From *Tunis* he went to *Tripoli*, and concluded a Peace with that Government. Thence he returned to *Tunis*, and threatning to do farther Execution, the Inhabitants implored his Mercy from their Works, and begged him to grant them a Peace, which he did on Terms glorious for himſelf, and profitable for his Country.

Blake having thus humbled theſe piratical States, came with his Fleet into the Road before *Cadiz*, where he received the greateſt Civilities from the *Spaniards*; for, till the Blow was ſtruck at *Jamaica*, *Cromwell*, to the beſt of his Power, carefully concealed his Deſign of making War. When this was known, the *Spaniards* declared immediately againſt him, and ſeized the Effects of the *Engliſh* in all their Ports, as above hinted.

Upon this, the Protector, at *Blake*'s Requeſt, ſent *Montague* with a ſmall Squadron to join him, and to carry him freſh Inſtructions; the Principal of which were, to block up the Port of *Cadiz*, in which there was a Fleet of 40 Sail, intended to ſecure the *Flota*: And at the ſame Time, the Sailing of this Fleet was prevented, the *Engliſh* were to uſe their utmoſt Diligence to hinder the *Flota* from coming in without ſharing in the Riches on Board. *Blake* and *Montague* executed their Orders with equal Skill and Induſtry, taking Care to obtain a freſh Supply of freſh Proviſions and Water, as often as they had Occaſion, from the *Portugal* Coaſt. Thither for this Purpoſe they had ſailed with the greateſt Part of the Fleet, when the Squadron from the *Indies* approached *Cadiz*. Rear-Admiral *Stayner*, with his Frigates, plied to and fro, till theſe eight large Ships were in View, which he preſently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his Veſſels, becauſe they lay very low in the Water, for Fiſhermen. This gave him an Opportunity of coming up with and fighting them, tho' the Weather hindered four of his Frigates from acting. Yet with the *Speaker*, the *Bridgwater*, and the *Plymouth*, he did his Buſineſs, and after an obſtinate Engagement, burnt one, ſunk another, ran two more aground, and took two of the *Spaniſh* Veſſels, ſo that two only eſcaped.

In the Ship that was burnt, was the Marquis of *Badajox*, Viceroy of *Mexico*, with his Wife, Sons, and Daughters. The poor Gentleman, with his Wife and eldeſt Daughter, periſhed; but the other Daughters, with his two Sons, and near an hundred other Perſons, were ſaved by the *Engliſh*. In the Prizes that were taken, were two Millions of Pieces of Eight, and as much in that which was ſunk. Soon after, General *Montague*, with the young Marquis of *Badajox*, and Part of the Fleet, to eſcort the Silver, returned to *England*, delivered the Bullion into the Mint; and at his Interpoſition, the young Marquis was ſet at Liberty. For this a Thankſgiving, with a Narrative of this Affair, was appointed to be read by the Parliament, who iſſued their Declaration of War againſt *Spain*.

Blake's *Expedition to intercept the* Spaniſh Peru *Fleet; with the Death of* Blake.

EARLY the next Spring, 1657, Admiral *Blake* went out with a ſtrong Squadron, with the ſame Deſign as the Year before, of intercepting the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet. He firſt took his Station off *Cadiz*, where receiving Intelligence that thoſe Ships, which are always much richer than thoſe of *Mexico*, were arrived at *Teneriff*, he made the beſt of his Way for that Iſland, and arrived there about the Middle of *April*. The *Flota* lay in the Bay of *Santa Cruz*, conſiſting of ſix Galleons, richly laden, and ten other Veſſels. The latter lay within the Port, with a ſtrong Barricado before them; the Galleons without the Boom, becauſe they drew too much Water to be within it. The Port itſelf was ſtrongly fortified, having on the North a large Caſtle ſupplied with Artillery, and ſeven Forts united by a Line of Communication, well lined with Muſketeers. The *Spaniſh* Admiral thought the Place ſo ſecure, and his own Diſpoſitions ſo well made, that when the Maſter of a *Dutch* Ship deſired Leave to ſail, becauſe he apprehended *Blake* would preſently attack the Ships in the Harbour; the *Spaniard* anſwered him tartly, *Get you gone if you will; and let* Blake *come, if he dare.*

Blake having taken a View of the Enemy's Situation, ſaw it would be impoſſible to bring off the Galleons, and therefore reſolved to burn them: To which End he ſent Captain *Stayner* with a Squadron to attack them, who ſoon forced his Paſſage into the Bay, while other Frigates played on the Forts

For the Naval Chronicle.

Admiral Blake.

Sold by J. Fuller

Forts and Line, and hinder'd them from giving the Ships much Diſturbance. *Stayner*'s Squadron was ſoon ſupported by *Blake* with the whole Fleet, who boarded the Galleons, and in a few Hours made himſelf Maſter of them all, and then ſet them on Fire; ſo that the whole *Spaniſh* Fleet was burnt down to the Water's Edge, except two Ships, which ſunk out-right; and then the Wind veering to the S. W. he paſſed with his Fleet ſafe out of the Port again, loſing in this dangerous Attempt no more than 48 Men killed, and having about 120 wounded. It was without Queſtion, the boldeſt Undertaking of its Kind, that had ever been performed at Sea; and the *Spaniards*, who are romantic enough on their own Conduct, were ſo much aſtoniſhed at his, that they quite loſt their Spirits, and thence forward never thought themſelves ſafe, either from Numbers or Fortifications.

Blake returned, after this glorious Action, to the Coaſts of *Spain*, and having cruiſed there a ſhort Time, was returning triumphantly Home with the Fleet to *England*, when he was taken with a Sort of Sea-Diſeaſe, a Scorbutic Fever, of which he died the 17th of *Auguſt*, 1657, about 59 Years of Age, juſt as he was entering *Plymouth* Sound. The Parliament, on the News of his Atchievements at *Santa Cruz*, had ordered him a Letter of Thanks, and a Diamond Ring of 500 *l.* Value; and now upon his Death, beſtowed on him a ſolemn and magnificent Funeral. His Corps was firſt brought to *Greenwich*, and from thence was carried with Pomp and Solemnity to *Weſtminſter*, and interred among the Kings in *Henry* VIIth's Chapel.

The Reader has ſeen, in a great Number of Inſtances, the gallant Behaviour of our brave Admiral, wherein he carried the Glory of his Country, and his own Honour, to the moſt exalted Height; and he will be no leſs pleaſed with a Delineation of his private Character, in which his Example is equally worthy of Imitation.

He was (ſays Clarendon) *a Man of a private Extraction, yet had enough left him by his Father, to give him a good Education, which his own Inclination diſpoſed him to receive in the Univerſity of* Oxford, *where he took the Degree of Maſter of Arts; and was enough verſed in Books, for a Man who intended to be of no Profeſſion, having ſufficient of his own to maintain him in the Plenty he affected, and having then no Appearance of Ambition to be a greater Man than he was. He was of a melancholy and ſullen Nature, and ſpent his Time moſt with Good Fellows, who liked his Moroſeneſs and the Freedom he uſed, in inveighing againſt the Licence of the Times, and the Power of the Court. They that knew him inwardly diſcover'd, that he had an Antimonarchical Spirit, when few Men thought the Government in any Danger. When the Troubles began, he quickly declared himſelf againſt the King; and having ſome Command in* Briſtol, *when it was firſt taken by Prince* Rupert, *and the Marquis of* Hertford, *being entruſted with the Command of a little Fort upon the Line, he refuſed to give it up, after the Governor had ſigned the Surrender, and kept it ſome Hours after Prince* Rupert *was in the Town, and killed ſome of the Soldiers; for which the Prince reſolved to hang him, if ſome Friends had not interpoſed for him, upon his Want of Experience in War, and prevailed with him to quit the Place, by very great Importunity and much Difficulty. After this, having done eminent Service to the Parliament, eſpecially at* Taunton, *at Land, he then betook himſelf wholly to the Sea, and quickly made himſelf ſignal there. He was the firſt Man that declined the old Track, and made it manifeſt, that the Science* *might be attained in leſs Time than was imagined, and deſpiſed thoſe Rules which had been long in Practice, to keep his Ship and Men out of Danger, which had been held in former Times, a Point of great Ability and Circumſpection; as if the practical Art requiſite in a Captain of a Ship, had been to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt Man that brought the Ships to contemn Caſtles on Shore, which had been thought very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a Noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that Proportion of Courage into Seamen, by making them ſee by Experience, what mighty Things they could do if they were reſolved, and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon Water. And tho' he has been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the Example of that Kind of naval Courage, and bold and reſolute Atchievements.*

Of his generous Behaviour to his Enemies, after he was Commander at Sea, we have the following Inſtance.

In the Month of *February*, 1651, *Blake*, in his Return homewards, took a *French* Man of War of 40 Guns. The Admiral commanded the Captain on Board him, and aſked him if he was willing to lay down his Sword? He anſwer'd, he was not. Upon which *Blake* generouſly bid him return to his Ship, and fight it out as long as he was able. The Captain took him at his Word, and fought him bravely for about two Hours, and then ſubmitting, went again on Board *Blake*'s Ship, firſt kiſſed, and then preſented his Sword to the Admiral upon his Knees.

We have already given a diſtinct Account of the firſt Battle in the *Downs*, on the 19th of *May*, 1652, except ſome Circumſtances which perſonally relate to *Blake*; ſuch as theſe. When he obſerved

Van Tromp bore nearer his Fleet than he had any Occaſion to do, he ſaluted him with two Guns without Ball, to put him in Mind of ſtriking Sail; upon which the *Dutchman*, in Contempt, fired on the contrary Side. The *Engliſh* Admiral perceiving his Intention to fight, ſingled himſelf out from the reſt of the Fleet, to treat with *Van Tromp* about that Point of Honour, and to prevent the Effuſion of Blood, and a national Quarrel. When *Blake* approached nearer to *Van Tromp*, he, and the reſt of his Fleet, contrary to the Law of Nations (the *Engliſh* Admiral coming with a Deſign to treat) fired upon *Blake* with whole Broadſides. The Admiral was in his Cabin drinking with ſome of his Officers, little expecting ſuch a rough Salute, when the Shot broke his Windows, and ſhatter'd his Stern, which put him into a vehement Paſſion, ſo that curling his Whiſkers, as he uſed to do when he was angry, he commanded his Men to anſwer the *Dutch* in their Kind, ſaying, when his Heat was ſomewhat over, *He took it very ill of* Van Tromp, *that he ſhould take his Ship for a Bawdy-houſe, and break his Windows. Blake* ſingly ſuſtained the Shock of the *Dutch* Fleet for ſome Time, till his own Ships, and the Squadron under Major *Bourne* could join him; and then the Action grew hot and bloody, till Night put an End to it.

After the Death of King *Charles* I. the Government underwent ſo many Changes, that a Man of leſs Prudence than *Blake*, would have found it no eaſy Matter to have kept the Seamen ſteady to their Duty, and make them quiet and eaſy. He uſed to tell them, it was his and their Buſineſs to act faithfully in their reſpective Stations, and to do their Duty to their Country whatever Irregularities there might be in the Councils at Home; and would often ſay, amongſt his Officers, that State Affairs were not their Province, but that they were bound to keep Foreigners from fooling us. Theſe Principles render'd him agreeable to all Parties, and gained him ſo generally the Reputation of a Patriot, that when *Cromwell*, in his new Model of a Parliament, left the populous Town of *Bridgewater*, the Choice of one Repreſentative only, they very prudently fixed on their Countryman, Mr. *Blake*.

One of his Victuallers, happening to be ſeparated from the reſt, fell in with the *French* Admiral and ſeven Men of War, near the *Streight*'s Mouth. The Captain was order'd on Board the Admiral, who enquired of him where *Blake* was, drank his Health with five Guns, and ſo wiſhed the Captain a good Voyage. The *Algerines* ſtood in ſuch Awe of him, that they uſed to ſtop the *Sally* Rovers, and in Caſe they had any *Engliſh* Priſoners on Board, took them out, and ſent them to *Blake*, in Hopes of obtaining his Favour.

When he left the Road of *Cadiz*, he ſailed to *Malaga*, and while he lay there, gave ſuch a Teſtimony of his Country's Honour, as was ſcarce ever equall'd. Some of his Sailors going aſhore, met the Hoſt as it was carrying to ſome ſick Perſon, and not only paid no Reſpect thereto, but laugh'd at thoſe who did. The Prieſt highly reſented this, and put the People upon revenging the Indignity, upon which they fell upon the Sailors and beat them ſeverely. When they returned on Board, they complained of this Uſage, and the Admiral inſtantly ſent a Trumpet to the Viceroy, to demand the Prieſt who was Author of the Inſult. The Viceroy anſwer'd, that he had no Authority over Prieſts, and therefore could not ſend him. Upon this, *Blake* ſent a ſecond Meſſage, that he would not enquire into the Queſtion, who had Power to ſend him; but that if he was not ſent in three

Hours, he would infallibly burn the Town about their Ears. The Inhabitants, to ſave themſelves, obliged the Viceroy to ſend the Prieſt, who, when he came aboard, excuſed himſelf on Account of the bad Behaviour of the Sailors. *Blake* told him, that had he complained to him, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely; for he would not ſuffer any of his Men to affront the eſtabliſhed Religion of any Place where he touched; but he blamed him for ſetting the *Spaniards* to beat them; adding, *That he would have him and the World know, that none but an* ENGLISHMAN *ſhould chaſtize an* ENGLISHMAN; and ſo diſmiſſed the Prieſt, who was glad he came off ſo well, being in terrible Apprehenſions of far worſe Treatment. When this Affair was reported to *Cromwell*, he was ſo pleaſed with the Admiral's Conduct, that he declared in Council, *That he doubted not, but in a little Time, to make the Name of an* Engliſhman *as much rever'd, as ever was that of the* Roman.

I ſhall conclude the Character of this Great Man, with one Inſtance of his ſtrict Regard to Diſcipline. His Brother, Captain *Benjamin Blake*, for whom he had a very tender Affection, was guilty of ſome Miſdemeanour in the Action at *Santa Cruz*, for which *Blake*, by a formal Sentence, removed him from his Ship, and gave the Command of it to another. No Wonder then, that ſuch extraordinary Things were performed by Men ſo ſtrictly tied to their Duty.

Tranſactions at the Beginning of the Dutch *War, and the firſt Sea-fight, in* 1665.

WAR being declared on both Sides, the King ordered a Fleet to be fitted out of 109 Men of War, and 28 Fireſhips, with 21,000 Seamen and Soldiers, which he put under the Command of the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Sandwich*. This Fleet ſailing over to the Coaſt of *Holland*, threw the *Dutch* into terrible Apprehenſions: For, though they had likewiſe aſſembled a great Fleet, under the Command of Baron *Opdam*, yet they durſt not venture out with it to Sea. While their Ships were thus blocked up, their *Bourdeaux* Fleet, being homeward bound, in the Month of *November*, fell moſt of them into the Way of the *Engliſh*, who took 113 of them, beſides other Veſſels.

About this Time likewiſe, Vice-Admiral *Allen*, cruiſing with a Squadron of eight or nine Men of War and Frigates off the *Streights* Mouth, fell in with the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, and other Ships, to the Number of forty, under Convoy of four Men of War. He attacked and routed them, notwithſtanding the ſtouteſt of their Merchant Ships engaged, ſunk ſome of them, killed *Brackel* the Commander in Chief, and poſſeſſed himſelf of four of the richeſt Ships, one of which, having ſuffered greatly in the Engagement, founder'd in her Way to *England*.

The *Engliſh* Fleet having lain a Month on the Coaſt of *Holland*, was ſo ruffled by a Storm, that it was thought neceſſary to retire to our own Shore. This Opportunity the *Dutch* took of ſending out their Fleet, which by the latter End of *May*, ap-

appeared about the *Dogger-Bank.* They were divided into ſeven Squadrons, the whole conſiſting of 112 Men of War, 11 Fireſhips, and 7 Yachts.

When the Duke of *York* was forced to retire from the *Dutch* Coaſt, it gave them an Opportunity to fall on our *Hamburgh* Fleet, of which they took the greateſt Part, whereby our Merchants ſuffered a Loſs of near 200,000*l.* This exaſperated the *Engliſh*, and at the ſame Time raiſed the Spirits of the *Dutch.*

Opdam, the *Dutch* Admiral, was a very prudent as well as gallant Cammander. The great *John de Witte* raiſed him to this envied Employment; but finding him inclined to the Prince of *Orange*, he became his Enemy, and as ſoon as he was out at Sea, wrote him a Letter, directing him to fight at all Events, and this with a peculiar Quickneſs of Stile, which proved the Letter his, though written in the Name of the States. *Opdam* reſolved to obey, tho' contrary to the Advice of moſt of his Officers, and his own Opinion, as appeared by ſending aſhore his Plate before the Engagement. *I am*, ſaid he, on hearing the Judgment of a Council of War, *entirely in your Sentiments; but here are my Orders. To-morrow my Head ſhall be bound with Laurel or with Cypreſs.* And in this Diſpoſition he ſailed to find out the *Engliſh* Navy. That did not require much Time; for the Duke of *York* was now eager to revenge the Loſs of the *Hamburgh* Fleet. On the 3d of *June*, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets engaged about Three in the Morning, off *Leoſtoff*, when by an Over-ſight of the *Dutch*, the *Engliſh* had the Weather-gage, an Advantage they knew how to uſe as well as keep.

At firſt there appeared but little Odds, both Sides charging through and through, without any re-

remarkable Advantage. But about Noon, the Earl of *Sandwich*, with the Blue Squadron, fell into the Center of the *Dutch* Fleet, and began that Confuſion which ended in a total Defeat. The Duke of *York*, in the *Royal Charles*, a Ship of 80 Guns, and Admiral *Opdam* in the *Eendracht*, of 84, were cloſely engaged; and the Fight continued ſome Hours with great Obſtinacy, and his Royal Highneſs was in the utmoſt Danger. Several Perſons of Diſtinction were killed on Board his Ship, particularly the Earl of *Falmouth*, the King's Favourite, Lord *Muſkerry*, and Mr. *Boyle*, Son to the Earl of *Cork*, with one Ball, and ſo near the Duke, that he was covered with their Blood and Brains; nay, a Splinter from the laſt mentioned Gentleman's Skull, razed his Hand. About One the *Dutch* Admiral blew up with a prodigious Noiſe; but how the Accident happened, is not known. In the Veſſel, together with the Admiral, periſhed 500 Men, only five of the whole Crew eſcaping; many of them Voluntiers, of the beſt Families in *Holland*, and not a few *Frenchmen*, who took this Opportunity of being in a Sea-Fight.

This was an unlucky Accident, but was preſently ſucceeded by another much worſe. Four fine Ships, the biggeſt of 60, the leaſt of 40 Guns, ran foul on each other, and were burnt by one Fireſhip. Soon after, three larger Veſſels ſhared the ſame Fate, and in the ſame Manner. The *Orange*, a Ship of 75 Guns, was alſo burnt, after a very gallant Defence. In ſhort, towards Four in the Afternoon, all fell into Confuſion. Vice-Admiral *Stillingwert* was ſhot through the Middle by a Cannon-Ball; Vice-Admiral *Cartenaar* received a Shot in the Thigh, of which he inſtantly died. Theſe Ships bearing out of the Line on the

Death of their Commanders, without ſtriking their Flags, drew many after them; ſo that by Eight at Night, *Tromp*, who held out bravely to the laſt, and fought retreating, had not above 30 Ships left with him. This was the moſt ſignal Victory the *Engliſh* ever gained, and the ſevereſt Blow the *Dutch* ever felt at Sea. According to our Accounts, which upon the ſtricteſt Examination, are always found moderate, the *Dutch* had 18 Ships taken (ſeveral of which we quitted) and 14 ſunk in this Action, beſides thoſe that were burnt or blown up: On our Side, we loſt the *Charity*, a Ship of 46 Guns, with moſt of her Men, in the Beginning of the Fight; had in the whole but 250 Men killed, and 340 wounded. On the other Side, they loſt, at leaſt, 6000 Men, including 2300 taken Priſoners. Yet this Victory was bought at the Expence of the Lives of ſome great Men, ſuch as the Earls of *Portland* and *Marlborough*, Vice-Admiral *Sampſon*, and Sir *John Lawſon*, who died of a Wound he received in the Knee, tho' he ſurvived the Battle.

The Remains of the *Dutch* Fleet retired towards the *Maeſe* and the *Texel*; and the *Dutch* Writers cannot forbear expreſſing their Aſtoniſhment, that the *Engliſh* did not purſue their good Fortune; and do as good as allow, that if they had, the whole *Dutch* Fleet muſt have been a Prey to their victorious Arms. There was certainly ſome Miſmanagement, otherwiſe this had been the laſt Battle with the *Dutch*: But ſo it was, that, content with the Victory, they neglected the Purſuit. The Friends of the Duke of *York* ſay, this was owing to high Winds on Shore, and our Fireſhips being all ſpent. Others alledge, that his Royal Highneſs going to ſleep after the Fatigue of the Day, Captain *Brounker*, one of his Highneſs's Bedchamber, came to

Admiral *Penne*, as from the Duke, and ſaid, the Duke ordered the Sails to be ſlacken'd. *Penne* was ſtruck with the Orders, but did not go about to argue the Matter with the Duke himſelf, as he ought to have done, but obeyed it. When the Duke had ſlept, he, upon his waking, went out upon the Quarter Deck, and ſeemed amazed to ſee the Sails ſlacken'd, and that thereby all Hopes of overtaking the *Dutch* were loſt. He queſtioned *Penne* upon it; *Penne* put it upon *Brounker*, who ſaid nothing. The Duke denied he had given any ſuch Order: But he neither puniſhed *Brounker* for carrying it, nor *Penne* for obeying it. This is Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account of the Affair, who ſays, he had it from the Earl of *Montague*, a Voluntier, and then preſent.

The Duke perceiving it would be to no Purpoſe to continue the Purſuit, retired to the Coaſts of *England*, and rid Poſt to *Whitehall*, to receive the Acclamations of the Court and City. Glorious as this firſt Action at Sea had been to the Duke of *York*, the King and Council did not think it proper to expoſe him to the Danger of a ſecond Engagement.

A four Days Engagement between the Engliſh *and* Dutch *Fleets.*

IN the Beginning of the Year 1666, the *French* King, being earneſtly ſolicited by the States General, and at the ſame Time with a View to his own Intereſt, in order to keep up the Diviſions between the two Maritime Powers, thereby to weaken both; and that the *Dutch* might be encouraged to continue a War, they found themſelves unequal to, became a Party with them in it. He recalled his Ambaſſadors, declared War, the 19th of *January*, againſt *England*, and fitted out a Fleet of thirty-ſix Men of War, beſides Galleys and Fire-Ships, under the Command of the Duke of *Beaufort*. The *Dutch*, in Hopes of this Aſſiſtance, uſed their utmoſt Diligence to get early to Sea this Spring, and, on our Side, all Preparations were made to be as forward as they.

In the Beginning of *February* War was proclaimed againſt *France*, and the Fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy-eight Ships of the Line, beſides Frigates and Fire-Ships, was put under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*. On the 29th of *May* they arrived in the *Downs*, where they received Advice, that the *French* Fleet was put out to Sea, in order to join the *Dutch*. Upon which, tho' it proved a falſe Alarm, Prince *Rupert* received expreſs Orders from the King, to make the beſt of his Way with the whole *Blue Squadron*, excepting the Admirals, to the *Iſle of Wight*, in order to intercept them as they came up the Channel. With the ſame Wind which carried the Prince to *St. Helens*, the *Dutch* put to Sea, and finding the *Engliſh* Fleet divided, would not loſe ſo favourable an Opportunity, but reſolved to engage the Duke of *Albemarle* with that vaſt Superiority. The Duke, far from declining the Battle, tho' the *Blue* and *Red Squadrons*, which remained under his Command, did not amount to more than between fifty and ſixty Sail, encountered them with ſingular Bravery; and notwithſtanding the Wind blowing hard at South-Weſt, made his Ships ſtoop ſo, that they could not uſe their lower Tier of Guns.

The *Dutch* Fleet, which was commanded by *De Ruyter*, conſiſted of ſeventy-one Ships of the

Line, twelve Frigates, thirteen Fire-Ships, and eight Yachts; carrying 4716 Guns, and above 22,000 Men. The Squadron of the *Maeſe* was commanded by *De Ruyter*; that of *North-Holland* and *Friezland* by *Evertzen*, and that of *Zealand* by *Van Tromp*. With this vaſt Diſadvantage the Engagement begun, and the Battle was fought for four Days ſucceſſively, beginning the firſt of *June*, and not ending till the fourth at Night.

In the Beginning of the firſt Day's Engagement, (which was very fierce on both Sides) *Van Tromp*'s Ship was ſo much diſabled, that he was obliged to go on Board another. *De Ruyter*, upon this, coming to his Aſſiſtance, met with the ſame Fate, and the Powder of another *Dutch* Ship taking Fire, blew her up in the Air, and Admiral *Stagbawer* was killed; this the *Dutch* themſelves allow; but the *Engliſh* mention another Ship burnt. Towards the Cloſe of the Day, Sir *John Harman*, Rear-Admiral of the White, being ſurrounded with a Throng of *Dutch*, ſignalized himſelf by the Death of Admiral *Evertzen*, and the Deſtruction of three of the Enemy's Fire-ſhips, after which, being left by the Enemy, he retired with his diſabled Ship to *Harwich*. Sir *William Berkley*, Vice-Admiral of the White, and almoſt all his Men, being killed, his Ship, and two more, which were cut off from the Line, and diſabled, were taken.

The Night having put an End to the firſt Day's Fight, about Ten o' Clock, the Remainder of it was ſpent in repairing Damages. The Engagement was renewed the next Morning by Break of Day, and continued for ſome Hours, till a Calm obliged both Fleets to lie by till Noon. A Breeze ſpringing up in the Afternoon, the Battle begun again, and was fought with equal Bravery. *Van*

Tromp having once more been obliged to leave his Ship, at length was ſo hardly beſet by the *Engliſh* Ships, (together with the Vice-Admiral, *Vander Huſhe*, who wa killed with a Muſket-ſhot) that had not *De Ruyter*, with an unparalleled Bravery, brought him off, he had infallibly been taken or ſunk. One of the *Dutch* Commanders *(Ruth Maximilian)* ſpeaking of this Incident, ſays, the Affairs of the *Dutch* ſeemed at that Time to be in a deſperate Condition. The *Dutch* had this Day, according to *Burchet*, three Ships fired, and the *Engliſh* three diſabled, which they burnt themſelves

The Duke of *Albemarle* ſeeing, towards the Evening, that the *Dutch* were reinforced, took the Opportunity of the Night to retreat, and was obliged to make a running Fight all the next Day, in hourly Expectation of joining the *White Squadron.* This Retreat (the *Dutch* themſelves own) was made in excellent Order, and without any Loſs, the *Dutch* following them at a Diſtance, till the *Royal Prince*, with Sir *George Ayſcough*, Admiral of the *White Squadron*, unfortunately ſtriking upon the Sand, called the *Galloper*, was burnt by the Enemy, and himſelf and his Men made Priſoners. In the Evening of the third Day, the Duke diſcovered Prince *Rupert*'s Squadron haſtening to his Aſſiſtance. Being joined, the two Admirals reſolved to attack the Enemy again immediately, and ſetting their Courſe towards them with Drums beating, and Trumpets ſounding, charged thro' and thro' the *Dutch* Squadrons. But Night ſoon parted them. The next Morning, by Break of Day, the Fight was renewed with equal Fury and Reſolution. The Fight laſted till about Seven in the Evening, when a ſudden Miſt drew a Curtain before the bloody Scene; and ſo this Tragedy,

gedy, tho' one of the longeſt that ever was acted on the Sea, concluded with the fourth Act.

A deciſive Engagement between the Engliſh *and* Dutch *Fleets.*

NOtwithſtanding the prodigious Loſs ſuſtained on both Sides in theſe Actions, it was not many Weeks before both Fleets prepared for further Action. The *Dutch* being the earlieſt, appeared before the *Thames* Mouth, thinking to inſult the *Engliſh*, whom they did not believe to have been in ſuch Forwardneſs. But they had not been long there, before they ſaw the *Engliſh* Fleet bearing down upon them, to engage them upon more equal Terms than in the laſt Fight, upon which they immediately retired towards the Coaſt of *Holland*.

The *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſted of about eighty Men of War and Frigates, and eighteen or nineteen Fire-ſhips, divided, as uſual, into the *Red*, *White*, and *Blue Squadrons*; the firſt of which was commanded in chief by Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*, who were both in one Ship; the ſecond by Sir *Thomas Allen*, and the third by Sir *Jeremy Smith*, under whom Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, Sir *Robert Holmes*, Sir *Thomas Tyddeman*, Sir *Edward Spragge*, Captain *Utburt*, and Captain *Kempthorn*, commanded as Flag-Officers.

The *Dutch* had eighty-eight Men of War, and about twenty Fire-ſhips, divided into three main Squadrons, which were commanded by *De Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, and *Van Tromp*. On the twenty-fifth of *July*, the two Fleets met off the *North-Foreland*, and came to an Engagement.

Sir *Thomas Allen*, with the *White Squadron*, began the Fight about Noon, by attacking the *Dutch* Admiral *Evertzen.* About One o' Clock Prince *Rupert* and the Duke made a furious Aſſault upon *De Ruyter*, and, after a Fight of about three Hours, in which they were very roughly handled, were obliged to leave their Ship, and go aboard another. In the mean Time, the *Friezland* and *Zealand* Squadrons were put to Flight by *Allen*; and this Admiral *(Evertzen)* with his Vice-Admiral *De Vries*, and his Rear-Admiral, *Kaenders*, killed. In this Action the *Zealand* Vice-Admiral, *Blankert*, being left, was taken and burnt by the *Engliſh*, as was likewiſe the *Sneck* (or *Sneak)* a Ship of fifty Guns.

Prince *Rupert* and the Duke, ſeeing the Succeſs of the *White Squadron*, redoubled their Fury with the Red, againſt *De Ruyter*, whom they engaged Ship to Ship. In this Fight a *Dutch* Fire-ſhip was ſunk; and the Ship *Guelderland*, of ſixty-ſix Guns, one of *De Ruyter*'s Seconds, rendered uncapable of Action: But the Captain of an *Engliſh* Fire-ſhip, attempting to grapple her, miſcarried, and was forced to ſet Fire to his Ship too ſoon. Another *Dutch* Fire-ſhip was burnt by the *Engliſh*, and moſt of the Men drowned. Captain *Ruth Maximilian*, another of *De Ruyter*'s Seconds, was killed, and the two others, *Nyhoff* and *Hogenboeck*, mortally wounded. After theſe Loſſes, ſeveral of *De Ruyter*'s Squadron began to take to Flight; his Vice-Admiral, *Van Nes*, only ſtood bravely by him, and was very much ſhattered: But being at length deſerted by all, except eight or nine Ships, and bore down with Numbers, this brave Admiral yielded to Neceſſity, and followed the reſt.

Van Tromp was, all this while, hotly engaged with the Blue Squadron, under Sir *Jeremy Smith*, where having gained ſome ſmall Advantage, he indiſcreetly ſuffered himſelf, by Degrees, to be drawn away to ſo great a Diſtance from the reſt of the Fleet, that it was out of his Power to aſſiſt his Friends in Diſtreſs. As this was an inexcuſable Error on his Side, ſo it appears to have been a Maſter-piece of Policy (and ſo ſome *Dutch* Writers take it) on the Part of the *Engliſh*; *Smith*'s Squadron being the weakeſt on our Side, and *Van Tromp*'s the ſtrongeſt on the other. In this Part of the Fight, *Van Tromp*'s Rear-Admiral *Hoen*, was killed, and *Mepple*'s, the Vice-Admiral's Ship, terribly ſhatter'd, with above 100 Men killed and wounded. On the *Engliſh* Side, the *Reſolution* Man of War was burnt by a *Dutch* Fire-ſhip.

There being but very little Wind all that Night and the next Day, *De Ruyter*'s Retreat was very ſlow, and continually expoſed to the Enemy's Shot, Prince *Rupert* and the Duke, with Part of the Red Squadron, being continually at his Heels; but not being able to board him by reaſon of the Calm, they endeavour'd to ruin him by a Fire-ſhip; but that miſcarrying, they ply'd him with ſo continual and furious a Firing of their Ordnance, that, tho' he was remarkable for his intrepid Courage, the Author of his Life in *French* ſays, he was heard to ſay, *O God! muſt I then be unfortunate! among ſo many Thouſands of Balls, will not one be ſo favourable as to take me off?*

By this Time it was evident, that the *Engliſh* had gained a conſiderable Victory, having ſunk or burnt above 20 of their Ships, killed *Evertzen*, Admiral of *Zealand*; *Tirrick Hiddes de Vries*, Admiral of *Frieſland*; and Rear-Admiral *Van Saen*; with above 4000 common Seamen, and wounded near 3000. The Remainder of the Enemy's Fleet, got, at length, in the utmoſt Confuſion, into the

Wierlings, over the Flats and Banks, whither our great Ships could not follow them; and our Fleet ſailed triumphantly along the Coaſt of *Holland*, taking their Ships at the Mouths of their Harbours, till being come off the *Vly*, they got Intelligence, by one *Heemſkerk*, a caſhier'd *Dutch* Captain, that upon that Iſland, and the *Schelling*, were conſiderable Magazines, belonging partly to the States, and partly to the *Eaſt India* Company; and at Anchor, within the Iſlands, a great Number of Merchant Ships lately arrived from *Moſcovy*, *Guinea*, and other Parts; with ſome outward-bound Ships, all richly laden. Upon this Information, the Admirals ſent in a Squadron of nine 4th and 5th Rate Men of War, five Fire-ſhips, and ſeven Ketches to deſtroy them, under the Command of Sir *Robert Holmes*, aſſiſted by Sir *Philip Howard*, Sir *William Jennings*, and other Officers.

The next Day, being the 8th of *Auguſt*, Sir *Robert* came to an Anchor before the *Vly*, at Eight in the Morning; but the Wind not favouring their Deſign, they, with ſome Difficulty, turned in to *Schelling* Road. The 9th, they had the good Fortune to deſtroy about 160 rich *Dutch* Merchant Ships, the leaſt of which was 200 Tons, with two Men of War their Convoy. It was done in the following Manner: The *Pembroke*, which drew the leaſt Water, was ordered, with the five Fire-ſhips, to fall in amongſt the Fleet with what Speed they could. Capt. *Brown*, with his Fire-ſhip, choſe bravely to lay the biggeſt Man of War on Board, which he did, and burnt her downright. Another Fire-ſhip running up, at the ſame Time, to the other Man of War, ſhe, backing her Sails, eſcaped the preſent Execution of the Fire-ſhip, but run herſelf a-ground, where ſhe was preſently taken by ſome of the Long-boats and fired. The other three Fire-ſhips clapt the three Merchant-men on Board, which carried Flags on their Main-tops, and burnt them. This put all their Fleet in a great Confuſion, which Sir *Robert Holmes* perceiving, made Signs for all the Officers to come on Board again, and preſently gave Orders that Sir *William Jennings*, with all the Boats that could be ſpared, ſhould take the Advantage to fall in and deſtroy all they could, but with ſtrict Command not to plunder. This Order was ſo well executed, that of the whole Fleet of 170 Ships, not above eight or nine eſcaped, and they very much damaged; the reſt were all burnt.

The 10th they landed with a Body of Men, conſiſting of eleven Companies, on the Iſland of *Schelling*, where they fired the Town of *Brandaris*, conſiſting of 7 or 800 Houſes, and brought off a conſiderable Booty, which was all performed with the Loſs, on our Side, only of ſix Men killed and as many wounded, with four or five Fire-ſhips conſumed, and a few Pinnaces ſunk. As a Mark of their Triumph, beſides the Booty the Soldiers and Sailors made, they brought off a fine Pleaſure-Boat belonging to the States, of 12 Guns. The Loſs the *Dutch* ſuſtained in Ships, Goods, Houſes, and other Effects, was computed to amount to at leaſt 1,200,000 *l.* Sterling.

The *Engliſh*, after this Succeſs, being returned to their own Coaſts, the *Dutch*, notwithſtanding theſe Misfortunes, put their Fleet to Sea again (conſiſting of 79 Men of War and Frigates, and 27 Fire-ſhips, under the Command of *De Ruyter)* before a Month was at an End; which, in Hopes of being joined by the *French* Fleet, under the Duke *de Beaufort*, paſſed by *Dover* the 1ſt of *September.* Prince *Rupert*, with the *Engliſh* Fleet, which had been reinforced ſince the laſt Battle, and was ſuperior to the *Dutch*, ſtood after them to the Road of *Boulogn*, being very eager to engage them; But the *Dutch*, to avoid fighting, haul'd in cloſe with the Shore, and had been there burnt, or run a-ground, by the Prince, if a violent Storm, ſuddenly coming on, had not forced him to retire to *St. Helen's*. In the mean while the *French* Fleet (of 40 Sail) put to Sea from *Rochel*; but three or four of their Ships, which were ſeparated from the reſt, falling in with Sir *Thomas Allen*'s Squadron in the *Soundings*, he took one of them, called the *Ruby*, of 1000 Tons, 70 Guns, and 500 Men; with which Loſs the Duke of *Beaufort* was ſo diſcouraged (or affected ſo to be) that he immediately returned into Port, as the *Dutch* did to their own Coaſts.

While a Treaty is on Foot, the Dutch *attack our Ships in the* Medway, Hope, *&c.*

IN the Beginning of the Year 1667, a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Holland* was openly ſet on Foot, by the Mediation of *Sweden*. *Breda* was appointed for the Congreſs, where, the latter End of *May*, a Conference was held by the Plenipotentiaries on all Sides. In Confidence of the Succeſs of this Treaty, the King forbore to ſet out a Fleet. But whilſt his Miniſters were negotiating at *Breda*, the *Dutch* reſolved to make an Advantage of this his Remiſneſs; and this was concerted between the Penſioner *De Witte* and the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*.

The *Scots* had, during the War, ſet out many Privateers, which had brought in a good Number of rich Prizes. The *Dutch* being (or pretending to be) provoked at this, ſent *Van Ghendt* with a good Fleet, into the *Frith*, to burn the Coaſt, and to recover ſuch Ships as were in that Part. He came into the *Frith* the 1ſt of *May*. If he had, at firſt, hung out *Engliſh* Colours, and attack'd *Leith* Harbour immediately, which was then full of Ships, he might have done what Miſchief he pleaſed; for all were ſecure, and in Expectation of Sir *Jeremy Smith*, with ſome Frigates, for Defence of the Coaſt. *Van Ghendt* did nothing in the *Frith* for ſome Hours. He ſhot againſt *Brunt-Iſland*, without doing any Miſchief: For this was all a Feint to amuſe the King, that he might not dive into the real Deſign of the *Dutch*. All being ready, *Van Ghendt*, with his Squadron, returned, and join'd *de Ruyter*, who, with 70 Sail of Ships, appeared in the *Thames* Mouth the 7th of *June*, and on the 10th, ſending in a Squadron, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Fort at *Sheerneſs*, and burnt or plundered the Magazine of Stores; tho' as bravely defended by Sir *Edward Spragge*, as a Place, then unfiniſhed, and of no Defence, could poſſibly be. The Duke of *Albemarle*, who was Lord-General, haſten'd thither with all Expedition, with ſome Land-Forces, and, to oppoſe the Enemy's Progreſs, ſunk ſome Veſſels in the *Medway*, and laid a ſtrong Chain acroſs it. But the *Dutch*, with a high Tide, and a ſtrong Eaſterly Wind, on the 12th, broke their Way thro', and burnt three Ships, the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles* V. (all taken from them in this War) which lay to defend the Chain. The Advantage of Wind and Tide continuing, they advanced, the 13th with ſix Men of War, and five Fire-ſhips, as far as *Upnor* Caſtle; but were ſo warmly received by Major *Scot*, from the Caſtle, and Sir *Edward Spragge* from the oppoſite Shore,

that

that they received no ſmall Damage in their Ships, but more in the Loſs of a great Number of their Men. However, in their Return, they burnt the *Royal Oak*, and, having much damaged the *Loyal London* and the *Great James*, fell down the River again, on the 14th, carrying off with them the Hull of the *Royal Charles*, which the *Engliſh* twice fired, to prevent that Diſhonour, but the Enemy as often quenched.

In this Action, one Capt. *Douglas* (who was order'd to defend the *Royal Oak*, which was burnt) when the Enemy ſet Fire to it, receiving no Commands to retire, ſaid, *It ſhould never be told, that a* Douglas *quitted his Poſt without Order*, and reſolutely continued on Board, and was burnt with the Ship; falling a glorious Sacrifice to Diſcipline, and Obedience to Command.

The *Dutch* got out to Sea again, with the Loſs of two Ships, which ran a-ground in the *Medway*, and were burnt by themſelves, and eight Fire ſhips ſpent in the Action, with no more than 150 Men (as they ſay) but probably many more.

Part of the Fleet being left to block up the Mouth of the *Thames*, under the Command of Lieutenant-Admiral *Van Nes*, *De Ruyter*, with the reſt, proceeded to *Portſmouth*, with Deſign on the Shipping in that Harbour; but the Earl of *Maccleſfield* and Capt. *Elliot* had ſo well provided for their Reception, that they thought fit to deſiſt from any Attempt, and ſailing to the Weſtward, enter'd *Torbay*, with Intent to land there: But being repulſed, returned to the *Thames* Mouth; and tho' they knew the Peace was now actually concluded, with their accuſtomed Integrity, came up with 25 Sail, as far as the *Hope*, where lay all the Ships of Force we had then fitted out, which were about 18, under the Command of Sir *Edward Spragge*.

Sir *Edward* happening not to be on Board, the Enemy did conſiderable Damage with their Fire-ſhips; but he immediately repairing to his Command, and being preſently joined with ſome ſmall Veſſels under Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, the *Dutch* were forced to retire with Loſs. They then appear'd off *Harwich*, where they made an Attempt on *Land-guard* Fort, but were repulſed with great Loſs.

The *Dutch* having reimbarked their Troops at *Harwich*, ſailed away again for the *Thames*; and venturing up as far as the *Hope*, where Sir *Edward Spragge* lay at Anchor with his Squadron, a ſharp Engagement enſued. One of the *Engliſh* Fire-ſhips grappling with a *Dutch* Fire-ſhip, they both burnt down together, but ſo cloſe to another of the *Dutch* Ships, that ſhe likewiſe took Fire and blew up. Soon after, another of their Ships took Fire, and burnt down; and, after that, another of our Fire-ſhips and one of theirs, grappled, and were both burnt. Another of their Men of War run a-ground, and fired herſelf; and another of their Fire-ſhips was burnt, with the Loſs of one of ours. When they were about to draw off, they ſent one Man of War and four Fire-ſhips towards the *Engliſh*; but with bad Succeſs; for the Foremoſt of their Fire-ſhips, ſeeing the *Engliſh* ready with their Ketches to cut off their Long-boats, forſook the Veſſel, which was preſently ſeized. And the other three Fire-ſhips, fearing to incur the ſame Fate, burnt themſelves; which the *Dutch* Man of War perceiving, retired, and join'd the Fleet. The *Engliſh* Admiral then bore up with his own Ship to the whole Fleet of the Enemy, ſent off a Fire-ſhip, and got up very near one of the largeſt of their Men of War, being ſtoutly ſeconded by one of ours:

But being galled by the Shot of the whole Fleet, they thought it convenient to come off.

The *Engliſh* now thought it moſt proper to withdraw to *Graveſend*, and leave the Enemy at Anchor in the *Hope*; but next Day, they, with the Help of their Fire-ſhips, attacked the *Dutch*, in their Turn, and after a ſharp Diſpute, in which they themſelves ſet Fire to the only Fire-ſhip they had left, to prevent her being taken, obliged them to retreat. They then ſailed down the Channel to the Weſtern Coaſts (after having been attacked again at the Mouth of the River, and ſuffered ſome Damage) and having alarmed the Country with ſeveral Offers of Landing, as firſt at *Wenbury* in *Devonſhire*, and near *Cowland* in *Cornwall*; at length, when they could diſſemble the Knowledge of the Peace no longer, *De Ruyter* invited ſome of the *Corniſh* Gentlemen on Board of him, gave them a liberal Entertainment, and excuſing ſome of his latter Acts of Hoſtility, he diſmiſſed them civilly, and then, with his Fleet, made Sail to their own Coaſts.

While the *Dutch* loiter'd before the River and at *Torbay*, without effecting any Thing remarkable, the *Engliſh* found Means by their Privateers, and a Squadron of Frigates, commanded by Sir *Jeremy Smith*, in the North Sea, abundantly to repair the Damage ſuſtained at *Chatham*, by taking great Numbers of their Merchant-Ships, bound from the *Baltick* and *Norway*, as alſo from and to *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Streights*: And ſome *Engliſh* Frigates took a Man of War, which was going with ſome others to rejoin the Fleet.

Thus ended the firſt *Dutch* War; and it was not long before a Second commenced, which was carried on with the ſame Vigour and Bloodſhed as the former, and ended with as little Advantage to either Party. The Engagements at Sea were fought with the ſame Bravery on both Sides, and with little Variation, except in ſome Circumſtances of Action, of which the Reader himſelf may judge from the foregoing Account; and therefore ſhall not trouble him with a long Narration of Particulars, but proceed to ſomething more intereſting.

A Relation of the Engagement between the Engliſh *and* French *Fleets, off of* Beachy.

THE *Engliſh* Fleet was, this Year (1690) far inferior to the *French*, both in Number of Ships and Force; and as there was a common Report, that ſome of the Officers and Seamen were diſaffected to the preſent Government, while the Fleet yet lay in the *Downs*, they drew up and ſigned an Addreſs, wherein they promiſe to defend and aſſiſt their Majeſties againſt all their Enemies whatſoever.

The Earl of *Torrington*, who was with the Fleet at *St. Helen*'s, was not a little ſurprized, when he receiv'd Advice from *Weymouth*, that the *French* were entered into our Channel; for ſo far was he from believing them (according to his Intelligence) in ſuch Forwardneſs, that there were not at that Time any Scouts Weſtward, to obſerve and bring an Account of their Motions. This News was ſoon confirmed from many other Places; and it was therefore judged high Time to get together all the Ships that were within Reach, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and to put them into the beſt Condition of Defence that poſſibly might be.

This being done, his Lordſhip ſailed the 24th of *June*, with the Wind at E. N. E. and ſtood to the S. E. towards the *French* Fleet which had been ſeen, the Day before, by the Scouts lately ſent out, off of *Freſh-water Gate*, on the Back of the *Iſle of Wight*; but the Wind taking him ſhort, he came to an Anchor near *Dungeneſſe*, within five Leagues of the Enemy. The next Day, our Fleet being reinforced by the *Lion*, a third Rate, and ſeveral *Dutch* Ships of War, were, with a N. E. Wind, in Sight of the Enemy, at *Compton Bay*.

The next Morning arrived another Reinforcement of ſeven *Dutch* Ships, under the Command of Admiral *Evertzen*, and another Flag Officer. The two Fleets, however, continued looking at each other, without entering upon Action, till the 30th; for the Admiral was not willing to hazard an Engagement, before the Ships which he expected from the Eaſt, had joined him. In the mean Time, notwithſtanding the Enemy were ſo much ſuperior in Stength, as above 70 (*Kennet* ſays 82) Sail to 50, and their Ships generally larger, the Admiral received poſitive Orders to give them Battle. Biſhop *Burnet*, however, ſays, theſe Orders were not ſo poſitive, but that a great deal was left to a Council of War. Upon Receipt of theſe Orders, the Signal was diſplayed, as ſoon as it was light, for the Ships to draw into a Line; which being done, the whole Fleet bore down upon the Enemy, while they were under Sail, by a Wind, with their Heads Northward, off of *Beachy*.

About Eight in the Morning, a Signal was given for Battle; and then the *French*, bracing their Head-ſails to the Maſt, lay by. About an Hour after this, the *Dutch* Squadron, which led the Van, under Admiral *Evertzen*, began the Engagement, with Part of the Van of the *French*; and about half an Hour after, our Blue Squadron encounter'd their Rear. The greateſt Part of our Red Squadron, which was in the Center, could not come to the Fight till it was near Ten; and as they were then at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Enemy, ſo was there a great Opening between them and the *Dutch*. Thus the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleet, notwithſtanding they were ſo much inferior, began the Attack, as M. *de Forbin* himſelf allows; and *F. Daniel* goes farther, and ſays, the *French* had the Advantage both of Wind and Tide.

It was remarked, that as our Ships bore down upon the *French*, they laſked away; but that probably might be only to cloſe their Line. After this, ſeveral of their Ships towed round, with their Boats, till they got out of Shot, which gave us Reaſon to hope the Advantage would have fallen on our Side; but it was not long before we plainly perceived the *Dutch* had ſuffered very much. This was occaſioned chiefly by being weathered and ſurrounded by thoſe *French* Ships which they left a-head of them, when they began to engage.

Our Admiral no ſooner perceived their Condition, than he ſent them Orders to come to an Anchor, where they lay at ſome Diſtance from the *French*, without any Sail, and ranged in Order of Battle, the only Expedient (ſays M. *de Forbin*) which could bring them off. With his own Ship, and ſeveral others, he drove between them and the Enemy, and anchor'd about Five in the Afternoon, at which Time it was calm, and the *French* Fleet was driving away with the Tide. However, judging it not ſafe to renew the Fight, at ſo great Diſadvantage, he weighed Anchor at Nine in the Evening, and taking Advantage of the Flood-Tide, retreated to the Eaſtward.

The 1ſt of *July*, the Admiral thought it requiſite to call a Council of War, where it was reſolved, *To endeavour to preſerve the Fleet by retreating, and rather to deſtroy the diſabled Ships, if they ſhould be preſſed by the Enemy, than to hazard another Engagement by protecting them.*

The *French*, very indiſcreetly, firſt neglected coming to Anchor, when the *Engliſh* did, to prevent their driving to too great a Diſtance, and thereby from improving the Advantage they had obtained; and then, with as little Fore-ſight, purſued in a formal Line of Battle. Whereas, had they come to Anchor, they would have continued near us; and had they left every Ship at Liberty to have done her beſt, they would undoubtedly have obtained a far greater Advantage, and we have been more roughly handled. On our Side, each Ship ſhifted for herſelf; and all poſſible Caution being taken to anchor to the greateſt Advantage, with regard to the Tides, which the *French* took little Notice of, we thereby got Ground conſiderably of them. However, they purſued us as far as *Rye Bay*, but with little Succeſs; and one *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Anne*, of 70 Guns, was run on Shore near *Winchelſea*, after having loſt all her Maſts. Here two *French* Ships attempted to burn her; but the Captain ſaved them that Trouble by precipitately ſetting Fire to her himſelf.

Among other Officers, whom the *Dutch* loſt in this unequal Battle, were Rear-Admiral *Jan Dick*, Rear-Admiral *Brackel*, Admirals of the *Maeſe* and *North Holland*, and Captain *Nordel* On the *Engliſh* Side were loſt, Captain *Botham*, Captain *Pomroy*, with two Captains of the Marine Regiments. M. *de Larrey*, ſpeaking of the two former, ſays, whatever was the Behaviour of Lord *Torrington*, it could not depreſs the Valour of ſome of the *Engliſh* Commanders. Among theſe were the Captains *Botham* and *Pomroy*, who ſeconding the Bravery of the Duke of *Grafton*, and, with him, breaking looſe from the main Body of the Fleet, commanded by the motionleſs Admiral, went to the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*.

Our Fleet retreated towards the *Thames*, where the Admiral going on Shore, left the chief Command to Sir *John Aſhby*. Before his Departure, he gave Orders to Captain *Monk* of the *Phœnix*, with four other fifth Rates, and four Fire-ſhips, to Anchor above the *Narrow* of the Middle Grounds, and to appoint two of the Frigates to ride, one at the *Buoy of the Spits*, the other at the lower End of the *Middle*, and taking away the Buoys immediately to retreat, if the Enemy approached: But if farther preſſed, to take away the Buoys that were near him, and to do what Service he could againſt the Enemy, with the Help of the Fire-ſhips; but ſtill to retreat, and make the Signals proper in ſuch Caſes.

The Earl of *Torrington* was ſo generally cenſur'd for Miſbehaviour in this Action, that on his Return to *London*, it was judged proper to commit him Priſoner to the Tower; where having remained ſeveral Months, he was at laſt brought to a Trial. His Defence conſiſted in the Inequality of his Force, and Diſadvantage of the Wind; and upon this Plea, was unanimouſly acquitted. This Trial was at a Court-Martial, held at *Sheerneſs*, the 10th of *December*, Sir *Ralph Delaval*, who had acted as Vice-Admiral of the Blue, in the Engagement, being Preſident: And, if I miſtake not very much, (ſays Secretary *Burchett*) this was the firſt Time an *Engliſh* Admiral was called to an Account in ſuch a Manner. But it was not the laſt, as we ſhall ſee before the Concluſion of this Work.

A *Dutch* Author, of the Life of King *William*, ſays, the Court-Martial was far from being unanimous in their Opinions; ſome thinking him guilty of Treachery, and others of Cowardice only; tho' they all, at length, agreed to acquit him. He adds, that the King was extremely diſſatisfied with their Sentence; and for that Reaſon diſcarded ſome of the Members of that Court from the Service, together with two and forty Officers of the Navy, who were ſuſpected to have been influenced by the Earl.

Admiral RUSSELL's *Engagement with the* French *Fleet, off* La Hogue.

AFTER the Defeat of our Fleet, as above related, the Queen *(Mary)* gave immediate Orders to put it in Repair; and ſuch Diligence was uſed, that it was not long before it was in a Condition to face the Enemy again; but was chiefly employed in watching the Motions of the *French* Fleet, and to protect *Ireland* againſt the Attempts that were continually made to ſubject that Country to the Obedience of King *James*: But as no general or memorable Action happened in the Performance of this Service, we ſhall not trouble our Readers with Matters of little or no Conſequence. There was likewiſe an Expedition or two to the *Weſt-Indies*, but lamely executed, and productive of no Honour or Advantage to the Mother Country: Nor do we meet with any Thing worth our Notice, with reſpect to naval Affairs, till the Year 1692; when was fought the famous Battle off *La Hogue*; of which we ſhall now give the Particulars.

Tho' King *James* was driven out of *Ireland*, yet his Partizans were ſo far from being diſcouraged, that they aſſured him, if he would, in Perſon, make an Attempt upon *England*, he would infallibly meet with Succeſs, ſince a great Part of the Nation were ſo diſſatisfied with the preſent Government, that they would be glad to ſee his Majeſty again on the Throne.

King *James*, being deluded by theſe ſpecious Appearances, got together a conſiderable Army of *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *Iriſh*, and *French*, and order'd their *Rendezvous* to be at *La Hogue*, in order to their embarking for *England*, intending to go with them in Perſon.

The Queen being informed of the intended Invaſion, was very aſſiduous in giving Orders for haſtening out the Fleet, which was put under the Command of Admiral *Ruſſell*, his Commiſſion bearing Date the 3d of *December*, 1691. All poſſible Care was taken to diſpatch the Ships with Speed, ſo that they might be early at Sea; and on the 22d of *April*, he ſent, from the *Buoy in the Nore* to the *Flats of the Foreland*, all Ships of the third and fourth Rates, and Fire-ſhips which were ready, and ordered the reſt to follow him, as ſoon as they could be in Condition. Mean-while, Advice Boats were ſent out to gain Intelligence of the Enemy's Preparations at *Breſt*, and the Ports thereabouts.

Sir *Ralph Delaval* was ſuddenly expected from *Cadiz*, with the Squadron under his Command; and it was reported, that the *French* deſigned to endeavour to intercept him and the *Dutch* Ships in their Paſſage. To prevent this, Orders were ſent him, the 29th of *February*, by the *Groyne* Packet Boat; but tho' thoſe Orders miſſed him, he had the good Fortune to arrive ſafe in the *Downs* the Beginning of *March*.

Another Squadron, conſiſting of five Third-Rates, ſix Fourth-Rates, ſix Fifth-Rates, one Sixth-Rate, three Fire-ſhips, and other ſmall Veſſels was likewiſe at Sea, under the Command of Rear-Admiral *Carter*, to whom alſo particular Inſtructions were ſent, the 14th of *April*, for his Guidance.

The 8th of *May*, the Admiral arrived off of *Rye*, paſſing thro' the *Downs*, without making any Stay; and in the Evening ſent to the *Dutch* Flag-Officer there at Anchor, to weigh and make Sail after him. Captain *Meeſe* was likewiſe diſpatched with a Squadron of ſmall Ships, in Search of Sir *Ralph Delaval*, with Orders for him to join the Fleet off *Beachy*, or ſend Advice where he was, that there might be no Uncertainty of their Meeting.

The 9th, about Seven in the Evening, the *Dutch* Ships from the *Downs* joined the Fleet, and one of their Rear-Admirals, with the reſt of their Ships under three Decks, were at Anchor off *Dungeneſs*. Upon this a Council of War was called, both of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Flag-Officers.

Some Time before, the *Jacobites* had ſent over Captain *Loyd* Expreſs to the Lord *Melford*, to acquaint him, "That they had corrupted ſeveral of "the *Engliſh* Commanders, particularly Rear-Ad-"miral *Carter*, and, with that falſe Intelligence, "tranſmitted to him an exact Liſt of the Numbers "and Rates of the *Engliſh* Fleet, and how long it "would be before it was poſſible they could be join-"ed by the *Dutch*; praying his Lordſhip to lay it "before the Moſt Chriſtian King, and procure his "Command to the Marſhal *de Tourville*, to ſeek, and "immediately fight the *Engliſh*, before they could "be reinforced by the *Dutch*." Upon the Receipt of this Meſſage, the Lord *Melford* applied himſelf to the King of *France*, who immediately gave his poſitive Commands to *Tourville*, to engage the *Engliſh* Fleet, without waiting for the *Toulon* Squadron under M. *d'Eſtrees*.

The Wind continued Eaſterly three Days; but no more of the *Dutch* Ships, which were expected, arrived; and the 12th of *May*, the Admiral ſailing from *Rye-Bay*, he was joined at *St. Helens* on the 13th, by the Squadrons with Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and Rear-Admiral *Carter*, who had met one another four Days before, when the former was ſtanding over to the *Iſle of Wight*, from Cape *La Hogue*, and the other from *St. Helens*, in Search of him.

The 15th of *May* a Council of War was held of the Flag-Officers, purſuant to the Queen's Orders.

The Intelligence ſent to *France* (as abovementioned) was the Occaſion, that, much about this Time, a Report was ſpread, as if ſeveral Captains of the Fleet had given Aſſurance to the Diſaffected on Shore, of their Readineſs to adhere to them, and that the Queen had ordered the Diſcharge of many of them from their Employments. Whether any of the Sea-Officers were ſtaggering in their Duty, is uncertain; but her Majeſty, who of her great Wiſdom was ſenſible, that nothing could prevent the ſpreading of this Rumour more effectually, than to declare herſelf convinced of the Falſhood of it, was pleaſed to let the Admiral know, by a Letter from the Earl of *Nottingham*, that ſhe could not believe that any of them were capable of ſuch ill Deſigns; but, on the contrary, that ſhe was ſatisfied this Report was raiſed by the Enemies of the Government; and that ſhe repoſed ſuch an entire Confidence in their Fidelity and Zeal for their Country, that ſhe reſolved not to diſplace any of them. This being communicated to the Flag, and other Officers, that the Queen might be thoroughly ſatisfied of their Integrity, they unanimouſly ſigned a Paper, declaring thereby their ſteady Zeal and Loyalty, which the Admiral, at their Requeſt, conveyed to her Majeſty.

When all the Ships, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, were together, the Admiral propoſed, that ſix or eight Frigates might hover about the Coaſt of *Normandy*, and that, at the ſame Time, the Forces, intended for a Deſcent on *France*, ſhould embark, and be landed at *St. Malo*, while the Body of the Fleet lay Weſtward of that Place, to protect them from the *French*, which he thought would not only contribute to our Succeſs on Shore, but oblige the Enemy to come to a Battle at Sea, rather than be bare Spectators of the Invaſion of their Country.

The 20th of *May*, about Eight, our Line was pretty well formed, and ſtretched from S. S. W. to N. N. E. the *Dutch* in the Van, the Admiral in the Center, and the Blue in the Rear; and by Nine the Enemy's Van had ſtretched almoſt as far Southward as ours, their Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and Admiral of the Blue (who were in the Rear) cloſing the Line, and their Vice-Admiral of the ſame Diviſion, ſtanding towards the Rear of our Fleet.

Between Ten and Eleven they bore down upon us with little Wind, and the Admiral (who ſtill lay by with his Fore-top-ſail to the Maſt) obſerving that M. *Tourville* had put out his Signal for Battle, commanded that his ſhould not be ſpread till the *French* (who had the Weather-gage) were advanced as far as they ſhould think fit.

At the ſame Time Admiral *Allimonde*, who commanded the *Dutch* Squadron, was ſent to tack, and get Weſtward of the *French*, as ſoon as any of his Ships could weather them, and thoſe in the Blue (then at ſome Diſtance aſtern) were ordered to cloſe: But the Fleets had not been long engaged, before it became quite calm, ſo that theſe Directions could not poſſibly be executed.

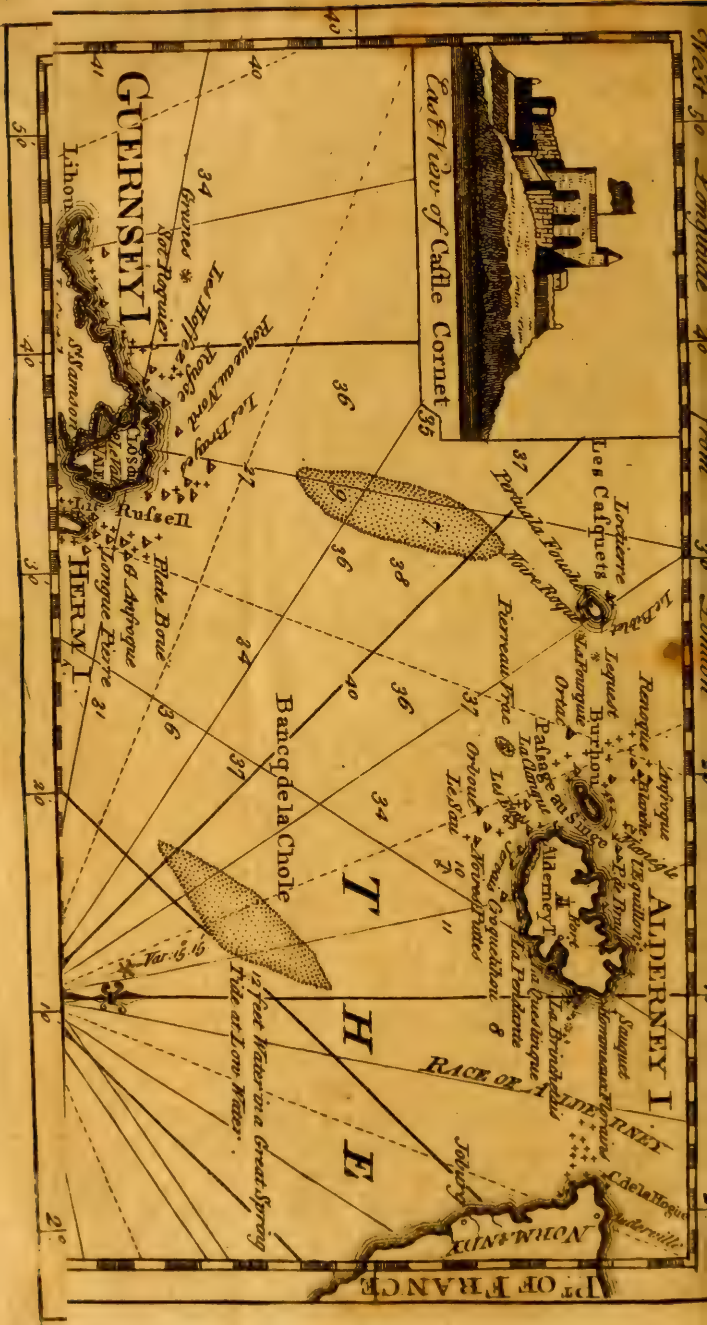
About half an Hour after Eleven, M. *de Tourville*, in the *Royal Sun*, a Ship of 104 (others ſay 110) Guns, brought to, and begun the Fight with our Admiral, at the Diſtance of about three Quarters Muſket-ſhot. In this Poſture he lay about an Hour and a half, plying his Guns very warmly; but then began to tow off in great Diſorder, and very much diſabled, his Rigging, Sails, and Top-ſail Yard, being very much ſhattered; and, as a ſure Argument that they had a great many Men killed, it was obſerved, no Pains were taken to repair them. Some Accounts ſay, the Sailors that remained of the terrible Slaughter which was made, were ſo diſhearten'd, that they left their Guns, and ſought Shelter in the Hold. In this Fight the Activity of the *Engliſh* Gunners was particularly remarkable, and it was reckoned, that during the whole Combat, they gave, at leaſt, three Broad-ſides to two.

Towards Two o' Clock the Wind ſhifted to N. W. by W. and, ſoon after, five freſh Ships of the Enemy's Blue Squadron poſted themſelves three a-head, and two aſtern, of their Admiral, to protect him, and fired very ſmartly till paſt Three; ſo that Mr. *Ruſſell* and his two Seconds (Mr. *Churchill* and Mr. *Aylmer*) had ſix of the Enemy's largeſt Ships to deal with. About half an Hour after Three, the *French* began to bear away, and at Four there was a thick Fog, ſo that not a Ship of the Enemy could be ſeen, upon which all Firing ceaſed, but it clearing up in a little Time, the *French* Admiral was diſcovered towing away Northward, (the great Firing on both Sides having occaſion'd a Calm) and our Admiral, that he might the better come up with him, ordered all the Ships of his Diviſion to do the like. A ſmall Breeze of Wind Eaſterly, happening about half an Hour after Five, the Signal was made for Chaſing, and Notice ſent to every Ship, within Reach, that the Enemy were ſtanding away.

About this Time many Guns were heard to the Weſtward, but the Fog prevented their being ſeen. It was thought to be our Blue Squadron, which had, by a Shift of Wind, weathered the *French*; but it proved to be the Rear-Admiral of the Red (Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*) who was got to Windward of M. *Tourville*'s own Squadron, and between him and their Admiral of the Blue. After they had fired ſome Time, the Ships, on both Sides, came to Anchor, but could not diſcover one another, thro' the Thickneſs of the Weather.

In this Scuffle Captain *Haſtings* of the *Sandwich*, a Second-Rate, was killed, he not being able to avoid driving upon theſe Ships of the Enemy, becauſe his Anchors were not clear: And during this Engagement, three Ships were heard to blow up, which, as the *Engliſh* miſſed none, muſt have been of the *French*.

The Admiral now judg'd it moſt adviſeable to order the Ships which were neareſt him, to chace Weſtward all Night; and acquainted them, that he intended to follow the *French* to *Breſt*, which he thought more proper than to anchor; and ſo indeed it proved; for next Morning he found himſelf


West 50 Longitude 40 from 30 London 20
East View of Castle Cornet
GUERNSEY I.
HERM I.
ALDERNEY I.
Les Casquets
Banc de la Chole
THE
Les Hoffes
Grunes
Sot Roquier
Roque au Nord
Rousse
Les Brayes
Russell
Plate Boue
Anfroque
Longue Pierre
Lihou
St. Samson
Clos du Valle
Lociere
Le Bablet
Portugal
Fouche
Noire Roque
Pierreau Frac
Lequet
La Fourquie
Ortac
Burhou
Pasage au Singe
Renoquie
Anfroque
Blanche
Equillon
Le Bray
Alderney T.
Fort
La Claque
Ordoué
Le Sau
Noires Puttes
La Perdante
Guiguechoui
La Quesineque
La Brincheuse
Sauquet
Hommeaux Florains
Race of Alderney
Jobourg
C. de la Hogue
Auderville
Normandy
Pt. of France
Var. 15.15
12 Feet Water in a Great Spring Tide at Low Water.
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ſelf nearer the Enemy, than thoſe Ships which had dropped their Anchors.

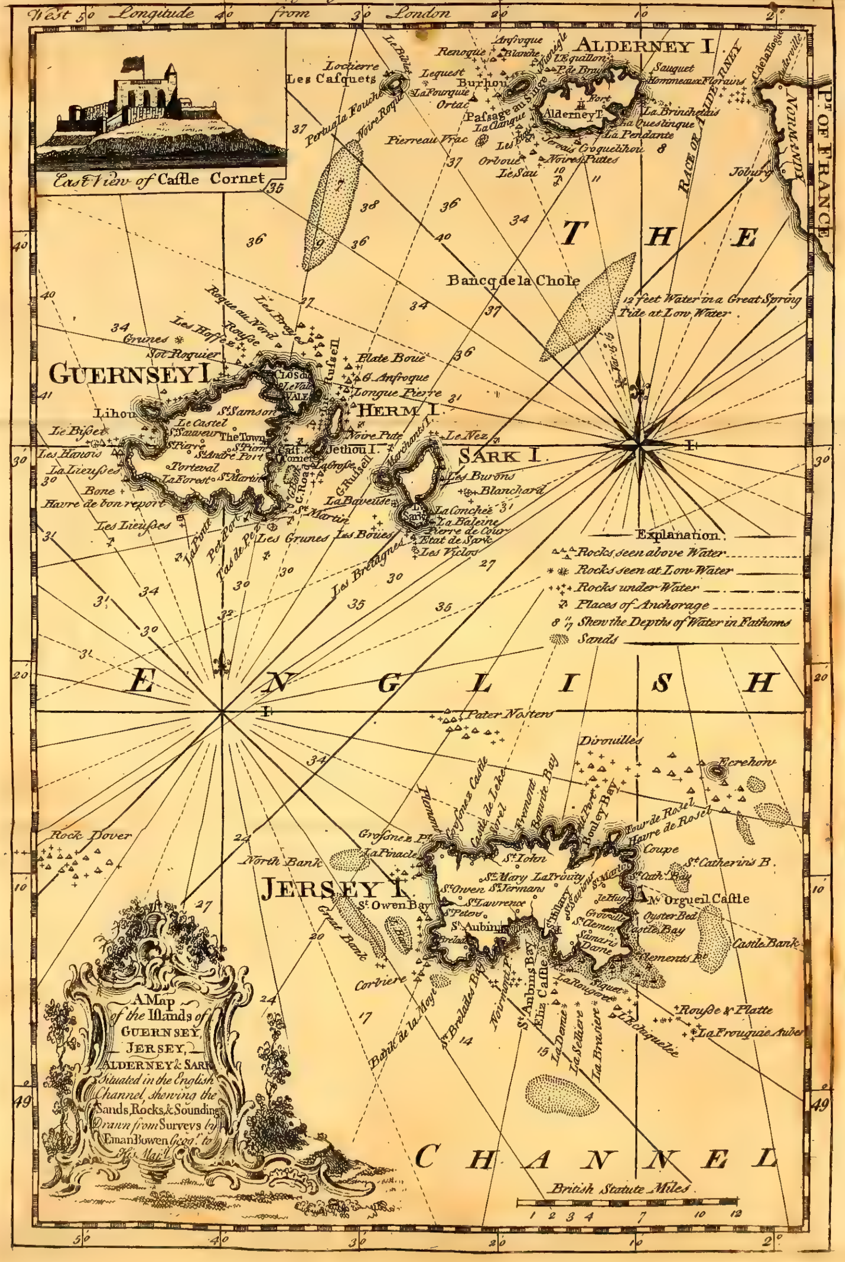
About Eight at Night there was a Firing heard Weſtward, which laſted about half an Hour, Part of our Blue Squadron being fallen in with ſome of the Enemy's Ships in the Fog; and in that Diſpute Rear-Admiral *Carter* was killed, whoſe laſt Words to his Captain (Captain *Wright)* ſufficiently ſhewed there had been no Grounds to ſuſpect his Zeal to the Service; for he gave him a ſtrict Charge *to fight the Ship as long as ſhe could ſwim.*

The Fog continued with little or no Wind all Night, and it was ſo hazy in the Morning, that none of the Enemy's Ships, and but few of ours, were to be ſeen. The Weather clearing up about Eight, the *Dutch*, who were to the Southward, made the Signal of ſeeing the *French* Fleet, and, ſoon after, about thirty-four Sail were diſcovered between two and three Leagues off, the Wind being then at E. N. E. and they bearing W. S. W. Our Ships chaced them with all the Sail they could make; but not in a Line of Battle, as was done after the *Beachy* Fight; for the Signal for a Line was taken in, that ſo every Ship might make the beſt of her Way. Between Eleven and Twelve the Wind veered to the S. W. when the *French* crouded away Weſtward, and our Ships after them; but towards Four in the Afternoon, the Tide of Ebb being done, both Fleets anchored, Cape *Barfleur* then bearing S. by W. But they weighed about Ten at Night, and both plying Weſtward, our Admiral's Fore-top-maſt came by the Board about Twelve, it having been wounded in ſeveral Places.

The Admiral continued chacing till Four the next Morning, and then the Tide of Ebb being done, anchored in forty-ſix Fathom, Cape *La Hogue* bearing S. by W. and the *Iſle of Alderney*

S. S. W.

Engrav'd for the Naval Cronicle. Sold by J. Fuller.



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S. S. W.

S. S. W. But, as he wanted a Top-maſt, the *Dutch* Squadron, and the Admiral of the Blue, and ſeveral of his own Ships, got conſiderably to Windward of him.

About Seven in the Evening, Part of the *French* Ships, which had advanced far towards the *Race of Alderney*, were perceived driving Eaſtward, with the Tide of Flood, without Ground Tackle to ride by; for, in the Engagement, and the Morning after, they had cut away all their heavy Anchors. When they were driven ſo far, that our Admiral judged he could reach them, he made the Signal for the Ships neareſt him to cut and chace, which they accordingly did and follow'd them; but Sir *John Aſhby*, with his Diviſion of the Blue Squadron, and ſeveral *Dutch* Ships that were weathermoſt, rid faſt (as the Admiral had made the Sign for them to do) to obſerve the Motions of the reſt of the *French* Ships, which continued at Anchor in the *Race*.

Three of their great Ships, being under the Shore, tacked about Eleven o'Clock, and ſtood Weſtward; but, after making two or three ſhort Boards, the biggeſt of them, the *Royal Sun*, ran a-ground, and preſently her Maſts were cut away. In the mean Time, the other two, to Leeward (which were the *Admirable* and the *Conquerant*, the *French* Admiral's Seconds) ply'd up to her; becauſe they could not get to Windward of the weathermoſt Ship, nor ſtretch out a-head Eaſtward. The Admiral taking notice, that ſeveral of our Ships hover'd about them, ſent Orders to Sir *Ralph Delaval*, who was in the Rear, to keep Ships enough with him to deſtroy them, and to order the reſt to follow the Body of the Fleet, which was punctually performed.

About Four in the Afternoon, 18 of the *French* Ships, which were got Eaſtward of Cape *Barfleur*, hauled in for *La Hogue*, where our Ships anchor'd about Ten at Night, and lay till towards Four in the Morning, when the Admiral weigh'd, and ſtood in near to the Land. The Flood coming on, he anchor'd again; but at Two in the Afternoon, got under Sail, and plied cloſe in with *La Hogue*, where he found 13 of the Enemy's Ships very near the Shore.

The 23d of *May*, he ſent in Vice-Admiral *Rooke* with a Squadron of ſeveral Men of War, Frigates, Fireſhips, and all the Boats of the Fleet armed, to deſtroy thoſe Ships; but they had got them ſo far in, that not any but the ſmall Frigates could advance near enough for Service. However, the Boats burnt ſix of them that Night, and the other ſeven, about Eight the next Morning, together with ſeveral Tranſport Ships, and ſmall Veſſels with Ammunition. In this Action, not only all the Officers, but the Men, behaved with ſo much Reſolution and Gallantry, that they took Poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the Enemy's Ships, and drove the *French*, with their own Guns, from their Platforms and Batteries, on Shore; and all this in the Sight of the *French* and *Iriſh* Camp, where lay an Army of 20,000 Men, ready to embark for *England*, had Victory, in this Battle, declared for them.

Thus at *La Hogue* and *Cherburg* were burnt, two Ships of 104 Guns each, one of 90, two of 80, four of 72, four of 60, and two of 56 Guns.

This Service being over, the Admiral ſail'd out of *La Hogue* Bay the 25th, and order'd Sir *John Aſhby* (who was returned without doing any Execution, on the other Part of the Enemy's Fleet, for which he was afterwards queſtion'd in Parliament) to run, with a Squadron of *Engliſh* and

Dutch, along the *French* Coaſt, as far as *Havre de Grace*, and to look out for the five Ships which he ſaid he had ſeen ſtanding Eaſtward; but in this he had no better Succeſs than before. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, if Sir *John Aſhby* had purſued the 26 *French* Ships, which afterwards got in to *St. Malo*, by all Appearance, he might have deſtroy'd every one of them.

According to a Relation we find in *Kennet*, the *French* loſt five great Ships in the Fight, one of which was Monſ. *Gabaret*'s, Admiral of the Blue Squadron; ſo that we deſtroy'd about 21 of their biggeſt Ships, beſides Frigates, and other ſmall Craft; and had it not been for the foggy Weather, few of the reſt would have eſcaped. On our Side, not one Ship was loſt, but the Fire-ſhips which were ſpent upon Action: And, beſides Admiral *Carter*, and Col. *Haſtings*, not one Commiſſion-Officer; with a very inconſiderable Number of Men, except thoſe who were accidentally blown up in one of our Long Boats.

As there was no Proſpect of meeting with the Remainder of the *French* Fleet, the Admiral was reſolved to repair with his to *St. Helen's*, and Time it was; for ſuch was the ſudden Extremity of the Weather, that had the Fleet kept out at Sea, they muſt have been expoſed to very great Danger; eſpecially thoſe Ships which, in the Battle, had been damaged in their Maſts. However, before he left the *French* Coaſt, he order'd Sir *John Aſhby*, with 12 Men of War and three Fireſhips, in Conjunction with as many *Dutch*, to proceed off *Havre de Grace*, and endeavour to deſtroy ſeveral *French* Ships, which were ſaid to be in thoſe Ports; but they had harboured themſelves before they arrived.

Queen *Mary* was no ſooner informed of this Victory, than ſhe ſent a Gratuity of 30,000 *l.*

down to *Portſmouth*, to be diſtributed among the Seamen and Soldiers, order'd Medals to be ſtruck for Tokens of Honour to the Officers; and cauſed the Bodies of Rear-Admiral *Carter* and Col. *Haſtings*, who were ſlain in the Engagement, to be honourably interred.

Agent-General BOOKER'*s Expedition againſt the* French *Settlements in* Africa.

THE Royal *African* Company of *England* having, of late Years, been moleſted in their Trade in the North Parts of *Guinea*, by the *French*, did, by Virtue of their Majeſty's Commiſſion, order their Agent-General, *John Booker*, Eſq; at *James Iſland*, in the River of *Gambia*, to attempt the diſpoſſeſſing them from thoſe Parts; which ſucceeded accordingly, as appears by Letters from the ſaid Agent, of the 14th of *March*, 1692-3; an Abſtract of which follows.

"Having embarked myſelf (ſays Mr. *Booker*) "with above 100 Men of this Iſland, upon the "Company's Ship, the *Ann* Capt. *Leech*, and the "*America*, Capt. *Brome*, with ſeveral Sloops, as "an Addition to the Force then ſent me, I arrived "at *Senega* River the 30th of *December*, 1692, "with great Difficulty, and the Loſs of ſix Men. "I got over the Bar, and whilſt I was preparing "to attack the Fort called *Louis de Bourbon*, the "1ſt Day of *January*, I received a Letter from "M. *Deſmoulins*, the Governor, offering to ſurrender, if he and his Men might have civil "Treatment; which I readily granted, landed, "and took Poſſeſſion of the Fort the ſame Day,

" where I found 15 Cannon, *&c.* This Fort is " ſettled in the Mouth of the River *Senega*, and " had been in Poſſeſſion of the *French* above fifty " Years. I have now ſettled a Factory there, and " called it by the Name of *William* and *Mary* Fort. " I continued there till the 25th, when I ſailed; " and having ſucceeded ſo well, called a Council " of War at Sea, the next Day. There it was re- " ſolved to attack the Iſland of *Goree*, the only " Place remaining in the *French* Poſſeſſion, in " *Guinea*. I arrived there, with the Ships, on the " 1ſt of *February*, and continued to alarm the " Caſtles till the 4th, when, in the Night, I land- " ed with 100 Men, under the *Old Fort*, within " 250 Yards of the New Caſtle, called *St. Mi-* " *chael*, commanded by Mr. *Felix*, ſituated on a " riſing Ground, and mounted with 28 Guns. I " met with no Reſiſtance till Break of Day, but " then they fired furiouſly upon us, with great " and ſmall Shot.

" About Noon, I ſent them a Summons to ſur- " render, before our Cannon could be landed. " They immediately deſired a Capitulation, which " being granted, and Articles agreed on, they " marched out the 8th, with their Arms, Bag " and Baggage, and Colours flying, and were car- " ried to the Company's Fort at *James* Iſland, " whence they are to be tranſported, on the " Company's Shipping, and at their Charge, to " *Europe*."

After this, Attempts were made on *Breſt* and *Dunkirk*, which did not ſucceed; and Squadrons were likewiſe ſent to the Coaſts of *France*, to bombard *Diep*, *Havre de Grace*, *St. Malo*'s, and other Sea-port Towns, which was executed with great Fury and Devaſtation; the Particulars of which it is the leſs neceſſary to relate, as we ſhall have Occa-

Engraved for the Naval Chronicle.

Captain SYMSON's Voyage to East-India Anno 1701.

ſion hereafter, to deſcribe ſuch terrible Operations, when we come to give an Account of the Expeditions made under the Reign of King *George* II. for both the Manner of Performance, and the ruinous Conſequences, are much the ſame in them all.

There were likewiſe, during the Remainder of this Reign, and before the Peace of *Ryſwick*, concluded in 1697, ſeveral other little Expeditions ſet on Foot, and ſmall Squadrons ſent out, to diſtreſs the Enemy and protect our Trade; but as none of them was remarkable, either for Action or Acquiſition, we ſhall not trouble the Reader with Matters of little or no Importance. We muſt not, however, omit a Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, that was ſet out a little before the Death of King *William*, and performed by Captain *William Sympſon*; becauſe it contains many curious Particulars, not before related in any of the Voyages into thoſe Eaſtern Countries which we have already given.

Captain WILLIAM SYMPSON'*s Voyage to the* Eaſt-Indies.

ON the 10th of *September*, 1701, Capt. *Sympſon* ſet Sail from the *Downs*, and on the 29th of the ſame Month, arrived at the Iſland of *Madeira*; and the 20th of *October*, reached the Iſlands of *Cape Verd*.

The firſt Land they made after paſſing the Line, was the Iſland of *Annobon*, in one Deg. and a Half of South Latitude, and ſo called on its having been firſt diſcovered on a New-Year's Day. It is about 10 Leagues in Compaſs, high, mountainous, woody, and always green, by Reaſon of the continual Rains. The Road is to the N. W. and very dangerous, becauſe of the many Rocks and Shoals. It produces great Plenty of Fruit, beſides a conſiderable Quantity of Cotton, which is its chief Commodity; the Sea abounds with excellent Fiſh; and as for other Proviſions, they are ſo cheap, that you may have a Pig for a Sheet of Paper. The ſweet Herbs and Flowers are ſo odoriferous, that the Iſland may be ſmelt at a great Diſtance before Ships reach it. The Inhabitants are moſt of them *Blacks* and *Mulattos*, and very poor.

Having left this Iſland, and being on the Coaſt of *Africa*, they ſpy'd very near them a vaſt Maſs of Water, drawn up into the Air by the Sun, from the Surface of the Ocean, in a Shape of a large Pillar, or Column, encompaſſed with a hoary Miſt or grey Cloud. It roſe gradually; and having hung for ſome Time, broke, and fell down in ſuch a mighty Cataract, Torrent, or Flood, as would have ſunk any Ship it had lighted on: It is commonly called a Spout. Ships that are drove towards it by a Wind, often fire their Guns; and the Noiſe they make, rarifying the Air, occaſion that Maſs of Water to break, and fall the ſooner.

Cape *Lopes*, on the Coaſt of *Afric*, is in about two Deg. of South Latitude. The Countries about the River *Zoiro*, as *Loango* and *Cabenda*, produce excellent Fruit and Palm-Wine, and have Plenty of Cattle, and all other Neceſſaries of Life. Their chief Commodity is Elephant's Teeth; tho' they have alſo Gold, which they don't much value, nor Silver. The Captain offer'd them a Dollar for a Fowl, which they refuſed, but took half a Dozen Needles for it, which might be of Uſe, but Money was of none to them. Inſtead of Coin, they uſe ſmall Pieces of Mat, made of Graſs, very thin, and about 16 Inches Square; for which they buy three *Kankies*, which are ſmall Cakes of Bread, when Corn is dear, and five when cheap. They uſe theſe Pieces of Mat to adorn their Bodies, and to cover their Privities.

From the Coaſt of *Afric*, they ſtood over for the Iſland of *St. Helena*; which has been often mentioned, and therefore we ſhall ſay no more of it here. They paſſed the *Cape of Good Hope* without touching, but made directly for the Iſlands of *Comora*, lying between the great Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, and the Eaſt Side of the Coaſt of *Afric*.

Having ſpent ſome Days here, they ſtood over for the Continent of *India*, and on the 29th of *May*, 1702, arrived at *Bombay*. This Iſland is in about 19 Deg. of North Lat. and is only remarkable for its Fort and Harbour, the Land affording little beſides Cocoa-nuts, and ſcarce maintaining any Cattle, which are therefore all brought over from the Continent. A Sheep or two from *Surat*, is a conſiderable Preſent to the beſt of the Inhabitants. The Water is as bad as the Soil, and the Air nothing better; all which conſpiring together, carries off Abundance of Sailors and Soldiers. This Unwholeſomeneſs is partly imputed to the Stench of the Fiſh with which they manure the Ground, burying it about the Trees. Of twenty-four Paſſengers the Captain carried over, twenty were buried at this Place, beſides fifteen Sailors; ſo that it's become a Proverb, *That two Monſons is a Man's Age.* The Monſons are regular Winds, blowing at certain Seaſons of the Year. They begin on the *Malabar* Coaſt, about the latter End of *May*, and hold till the Beginning of *September*, but are moſt Violent in *June* and *July*, and ſometimes rage prodigiouſly for 10 or 15 Days together. Towards the latter End of this Time, the *Banians* endeavour to appeaſe the furious Ocean by their Offerings, throwing into it Abundance of gilt Cocoa-Nuts. When theſe Oblations are over, and the Seaſon naturally begins to grow calmer, the *Brachmans* declare Ships may ſafely venture abroad; for till they have given their Opinion, no *Indian* will venture to weigh Anchor. The Approach of the Sun in *Europe*, promiſes the faireſt Weather; but in *India* it is quite contrary; becauſe the Sun, being vertical, exhales mighty Vapours from the Earth and Sea, and returns them again as plentifully; and I have obſerved (ſays the Captain) under the *Æquinox* and the *Tropics*, that when the Sun has been in the *Zenith*, the Air has been more temperate, and the Weather cooler, than at 10 or 12 Degrees Diſtance; for the abundant Moiſture, which is always powerfully drawn up near the *Æquator* from which the Sun is never very far diſtant, abates the ſcorching Heat, which would otherwiſe be intolerable; and therefore, in the Middle of *May*, before the Southerly Wind brings on the Rain, the Air at *Surat* is ſo very dry, that it ſucks up the Moiſture in a Pen, before it can be half writ out, and then all People of Faſhion are forced to have their Slaves continually fanning them with Fans of Peacocks Feathers. In *Europe*, our Weather is much more unſettled; for in *India* the Seaſons are fixed, and ſcarce ſubject to any Change. Beſides theſe Seaſons, there are others quite different, at a very ſmall Diſtance. Thus on the Eaſt Side of Cape *Camorin*, along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, from *April* till *September*, the Weather is fair, or Summer, and the other Months are Winter; whereas on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, which is on the Weſt Side of Cape *Camorin*, the fair Weather, or Summer, begins in *September*, and ends in *May*, which ſeems amazing, that Seaſons of Summer and Winter ſhould be directly oppoſite, at 20 or 30 Leagues Diſtance, and in the ſelf-ſame Latitude.

The ſame Variety there is as to the Rains, which, in ſeveral Countries, come from different Quarters, ſome from the South, ſome from the Eaſt, and ſome from the Weſt; and at the *Maldivy* Iſlands, which are ſo many, that their Number is not known, the Rains follow the Courſe of the Waters, which are carried, for ſix Months together, with great Violence from the Weſt to the Eaſtward, that is, from *April* till *September*; and the other ſix Months are hot and calm, with a ſettled Eaſt Wind. The Beginning and End of theſe Monſons, are always very boiſterous, and, from that Violence, are called, in *India*, the *Elephant Seaſons*. The Monſons produce abundance of venomous Creatures, which is a great Demonſtration of the Corruption of the Air. Spiders often grow as big as a Man's Thumb, and Toads as large as ſmall Ducks. The Months of *September* and *October*, which follow the Rains, are very pernicious to *Europeans* at *Bombay*; and more of them generally die at that Time, than during all the reſt of the Year; becauſe the exceſſive Quantities of earthly Vapours infecting the Air, occaſion ſuch a faint ſultry Heat, that very few can reſiſt the feveriſh Effect thereof on the Spirits, nor recover from the peſtilential Fevers and Fluxes that enſue. Almoſt all Wounds and Contuſions, at ſuch Times, prove mortal.

From *Bombay* they proceeded to *Surat*; but before they arrive there, the Captain entertains us with an Account of the Riches, Grandeur, and Magnificence of the *Moguls*; their Nabobs, or Governors, their Wealth and Power; the Cuſtoms, Animals and Products of thoſe Eaſtern Countries, which having been already deſcribed in the Voyage and Obſervations of Sir *Thomas Rowe*, we ſhall proceed, with the Captain, to *Surat*.

The City of *Surat* is in 21 Deg. ſome odd Minutes of North Lat. on the Bank of the River *Tappy* or *Tindy*, 10 or 12 Leagues from the Sea. That River has its Riſe in the Mountains of *Decan*, thence runs down thro' *Brampore*, and with ſeveral Windings glides gently from *Surat* into the Ocean. The City and Suburbs are between two and three *Engliſh* Miles in Compaſs. The Form of it is almoſt a Semi-circle. It is fortified with a Wall, and flank'd at certain Diſtances with Towers; but its greateſt Strength conſiſts in the Caſtle, which not only commands the Ships and Boats in the River, but ſecures the City on the Land. This Caſtle is Square, has a large Tower at each Angle, and many Pieces of Cannon mounted on the Walls. There are ſix Gates to the City, with Guards at each of them, and Centinels, who examine all who go in or out upon the leaſt Suſpicion. The Houſes are ſome of Brick, and ſome of Stone, much after the *Portugueze* Manner; the Roofs flat, only a little ſhelving to carry off the Water.

This City is famous throughout all *Aſia*, for its great Trade in rich Silks, ſuch as Atlaſſes, Cattanees, Sooſeys, Culgars, Allajars, Velvets, Taffatas, Sattin, and Zarbaſts from *Perſia*, as alſo Abundance of Pearls from the *Perſian* Gulph; beſides Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires, Topazes, Agates, Cornelians, *&c.* to be bought at reaſonable Rates. The Gold of *Surat* is ſo fine, that 12 or 14 *per Cent.* may be gained by bringing it to *Europe*, and the Silver, which is the ſame all over *India*, exceeds the Dollars of *Mexico* and *Peru*, having leſs Allay than any other in the World; beſides, there is no clipped Money to be ſeen, and ſcarce any Counterfeit.

Goods are brought to *Surat* by Land from *Agra*, the Capital of *India*, from *Delhi*, from *Amadavad*, and other Places. They bring them on Camels, Dromedaries, and Aſſes. The Strength and Hardineſs of the Camels, renders them moſt fit for this Service; for they carry vaſt Burdens, and travel with great Speed, becauſe, having a Joint in their hinder Legs more than other Beaſts, they have conſequently a longer Reach; but they cannot go on ſlippery Ground, and are therefore beſt for ſandy Ways. They will likewiſe travel longer without Food or Drink, than any other Creature.

The *Dutch* ſupply *Surat* with all Sorts of Spice, excluſive of all other Nations, except only Pepper; in which the *Engliſh* ſhare with them. Cinnamon is brought only from the Iſle of *Ceylon*, being the Bark of a Tree, which has three of them one over another, two whereof are ſtripped; the Firſt is of no Value, the Second is the Cinnamon, but the Third muſt be left on, elſe the Tree dies. In three Years the two outward Barks grow, and cover the Tree again. When the *Dutch* are afraid of over-ſtocking *Europe* with Cinnamon, they burn as much of it as they think may be ſpared. They have alſo another Practice, which is, to extract the Oil of Cinnamon, and then to ſell the inſipid Bark. The Oil bears a very great Price. Cloves come from the *Molucca* Iſlands only, which are poſſeſſed by the *Dutch*, who expell'd the *Engliſh*, after they had been at immenſe Charges to make Settlements there. Nutmegs grow moſt in the Iſland of *Banda*, which is near the *Moluccas*, and are wrapped up in the Mace, over which there is another thick Rind, like that of a green Walnut; and when they are thus preſerved whole, they are looked upon as a very fine Cordial. The *Dutch* report a romantic Fiction concerning the Nutmeg

Tree, which is, that none ever grows that is planted; but that ſuch as thrive, and come to bear, come from a Nut ſwallowed by a certain Bird in thoſe Parts, which voiding it again with its Excrements, it then takes Root and grows up: But this is a Fable, invented to diſcourage others from attempting to plant thoſe Trees in other Parts. The Cloves grow in Cluſters on Trees, and before they come to Maturity, afford a delightful View, being of a dark Red; and long after they are gathered of ſuch an attractive Quality, that they will draw all the Water out of a Veſſel that ſtands near them. The *Dutch* uſe the Cloves in the ſame Manner as they do the Cinnamon, that is, extract all the Oil out of them, and then ſell the Droſs for good Cloves; and for this Purpoſe keep large Stores of them at *Batavia*, where they extract their Virtue, and then ſell them as freſh.

In Controverſies of Right, between Man and Man, Oaths are adminiſtered; but the ſcrupulous *Banians* will rather run the Hazard of loſing their Cauſe, than take an Oath, becauſe of the Infamy which attends ſwearing among them. As we lay our Hand on the Bible to ſwear, ſo they lay theirs on their much honour'd Beaſt the Cow, with this Imprecation, *That they may eat of the Fleſh of that bleſſed Creature, if what they ſay is not true.* As among the *Chineſe*, the People are kept in Awe by the dread and aweful Reſpect they bear their dead Parents, who, they pretend, are Spectators of all their Children's Actions, and grievouſly offended whenever they tranſgreſs the Laws they have left them: So does the Notion of Tranſmigration give the *Banians* a ſingular Regard for all Sorts of Beaſts, but more particularly the Cow, which for their Lives they would not hurt, hoping the Souls of their Parents and Predeceſſors may be in them.

The Inhabitants of *Surat* are of three Sorts, the *Mahometans*, or *Moguls*; the *Banians*, or native Gentiles; and the *Perſies* or *Gaures*. The *Moguls* are ſuperior to the reſt, and put into all Places of Truſt. They treat the Gentiles with too much Haughtineſs and Inhumanity, becauſe they are of a different Religion; yet their peaceable Behaviour gains them ſome Favour. Theſe *Mahometans* being forbid to drink Wine, as all of that Perſuaſion are, uſe very much the mixing of *Deutra* with Water, which intoxicates almoſt to Madneſs. The Effect of this Herb *Deutra*, is obſerved to be ſuch, that whatever Humour prevails on a Man at the Time of his drinking it to Exceſs, that ſame Humour continues in the higheſt Pitch till the inebriating Quality abates. If he is melancholy, it raiſes in him the higheſt Degree of Sadneſs; if he is amorous, he is all Love and Flame, *&c.* But theſe Tranſports are ſometimes abated, by pouring cold Water on the Legs.

As to ſtrong Liquors, the moſt noted in *India*, is the *Arrack*; of which there are two Sorts, that of *Goa*, and that of *Bengal*; the latter is much the ſtrongeſt; they are diſtilled from Rice, and ſometimes from *Toddy*, a Liquor drawn from a Sort of Palm-tree. Another Sort is alſo diſtilled from Black-Sugar mixed with Water, and the Bark of a Tree called *Babank*; and this is called *Jagre Arrack*. It is as hot as Brandy, and drank in Drams by *Europeans*. *Toddy* is drank plentifully both by Moors and Chriſtians; a Quart of it does not coſt above a *Pice* or two, and will affect the Head as much as *Engliſh* Beer. In the Morning it is laxative, and in the Evening aſtringent. The *Neri*, another Liquor, is drawn from the *Areca* Tree, in a new Earthern Veſſel, being as ſweet and pleaſant as Milk. The immoderate Uſe of it has been fatal to ſeveral *Europeans*; for, when once inflam'd, they become ſo reſtleſs, that no Place is cool enough; and therefore they lie down on the Ground all Night, which often cauſes their ſudden Death. The beſt Remedy after hard Drinking, is to keep cloſe with convenient Covering.

The People of Faſhion, when they go abroad, are uſually carried on Mens Shoulders in *Palanquines*, which are as convenient and eaſy as our Chairs, but far ſurpaſs them for Expedition, four or ſix Servants bearing the *Palanquine*, with others to relieve them by Turns; and thus they travel thirty or forty Miles a-day. The *Palanquine* hangs like a Cradle on a Bamboe, five or ſix Inches Diameter, and about twenty-four Feet long, arched in the Middle, with Banniſters four or five Inches thick, to ſupport it. The Sides are wrought, or cover'd with Gold or Silver; the Covering is of fine Silk, and the Cuſhions within very rich, on which they ſtretch themſelves at Eaſe.

There are dancing Women at *Surat*, who are very entertaining, but at the ſame Time have Abundance of laſcivious Motions. It is much more ſurprizing to ſee the dancing Snakes, which are very common, carried about in Baſkets, where they roll themſelves up; and their Keepers handle them as we do the beſt natured Dogs. As ſoon as a Man begins to play on a Pipe, they rouze themſelves in the Baſket, where before they lay as dead, hiſs and come out, and then dance, or make ſuch Motions as they are capable of; and when the Man has done Piping, they return to their Baſket, and lay themſelves down again. Notwithſtanding which, the numerous Snakes there are very miſchievous; and would be much more ſo, if they had not the *Snake-ſtone* to cure them. It is an artificial Stone, almoſt flat, and of a dark Colour, being compoſed of Aſhes of certain burnt Roots, mixed with a Sort of Earth found at *Diu*; all is burnt over again, and made into a Paſte, which hardens like a Stone. It cures it by applying it to the Part broken, to which it clings faſt, and by its powerful Attraction, ſucks out the Venom, till its Pores are full; then, like a Leech that is full, it drops off; and being put into Milk, diſgorges the Poiſon it has received, as appears by diſcolouring the Milk. Thus it is reſtored to its former Virtue, and will produce the ſame Effect again immediately. This Stone has another Excellence, which is, that a little of it ſcraped off, and taken inwardly in Wine, or other proper Vehicle, is one of the moſt powerful Medicines againſt all malignant Fevers and infectious Diſtempers, hitherto known, and infinitely ſurpaſſing the *Goa* Stone. Theſe Stones, if they are genuine, will ſtick faſt to the Roof of the Mouth, but if counterfeit, will eaſily drop off. A burning Coal is ſaid to perform the ſame Cure, as to the Venom of Serpents, by applying it cloſe to the Place affected, the Heat drawing out the Poiſon; but this is much more painful, and leſs certain.

Above all the *India* Antidotes, the *Maldivy* Cocoa-nut is in the higheſt Repute; for a ſmall Quantity of it is a certain Preſervative againſt any internal Poiſon; beſides, it is ſaid to be good for Women in Labour, and to cure bloody Fluxes, malignant Fevers, the Falling Sickneſs, Palſey, and Convulſions, and is an excellent Cordial. Theſe, however, are not the common Nuts that grow in the *Maldivy* Iſlands, but are found on the Shores of thoſe Iſlands, thrown up by the Sea, yet are in all other Reſpects, like thoſe that grow upon Land. They are ſuppoſed to grow on ſome Trees under Water, and when accidentally broke from the

Branches, to float, and ſo caſt aſhore by the Water. The *Indians* value them greatly, and they are extremely ſcarce.

The *Rhinocerot*'s *Horn* is alſo reckoned an Antidote in *India*, againſt all poiſonous Draughts, and is the ſame much talked of in *England* by the Name of the Unicorn's Horn: But that which *Europeans* generally take for this, is certainly the Horn of a Fiſh frequently taken in the North-Sea, at the Whale-Fiſhery. The Rhinocerot's Horn is never ſo long, and quite of another Nature, and ſo valuable, that the *Engliſh* Preſident at *Surat*, gave a large ſilver Bowl for a Cup made of the ſaid Horn.

As for Diverſions in this Country, at Home they play at Cheſs, but abroad follow Hunting and Shooting of Deer, Antelopes, Wild Bulls, Hares, Peacocks, and all other Sorts of Game, whereof there is ſuch Plenty, that for a *Roupie* there may be bought forty Fowls, or fifteen Ducks. *European* Dogs are much valued there; as Spaniels, Maſtiffs, Grey-hounds, and *Iriſh* Wolf-dogs; but they are not long lived, if often run, eſpecially in the Heat of the Day. For Want of Dogs, they bring up tame Leopards to hunt Antelopes and Deer. Thoſe Creatures leap upon their Prey, and, when once faſtened, never let go their Hold. In *Perſia* they make Uſe of Faulcons for the ſame Sport, which are carried from thence to *Surat*, and brought to be ſerviceable after this Manner: When the Faulcon is hungry, they fix its Meat on the Noſe of a counterfeit Antelope, or Deer, and never ſuffer it to feed elſewhere. When uſed to that, they carry it abroad into the Fields, and flying it at an Antelope, it fixes on the Noſe of that Beaſt, and ſo blinds it with the fluttering of its Wings, that the Antelope cannot ſee its Way, or

fly

fly ſo ſwiftly as otherwiſe it would; ſo that the Men and Dogs eaſily come up with it.

Their Method of taking wild Fowl is thus: When the Fowler ſpies his Game, he ſends a Man before him towards the Place, carrying a Parcel of Trees, ſo artificially interwoven and wrought together, that they exactly reſemble a Buſh, or Hedge, which ſerves to conceal both the Fowler and him that carries them, and thus advances to a Diſtance proper for making a Shot. When the Fowl are on the Water, another Method is uſed: The Fowler puts his Head into a wooden Veſſel, in which are Holes for him to ſee and breathe, and is cover'd all over with the Feathers of ſuch Birds as uſe the Place. With this on his Head he goes into the Water, and either walks or ſwims ſo near to them, that he lays hold of their Legs with his Hands, draws them under Water, and faſtens them to his Girdle. *(See the Cut.)* Theſe are the Methods practiſed by the *Moguls* and *Mahometans*; for the Idolaters will not kill any Creature.

The *Banians* are a conſiderable Part of the Inhabitants of *Surat*, and indeed throughout all *India*. They are all Merchants, and a People ſo innocent, obſequious, humble, and ſo patient, that when provoked, their greateſt Paſſion breaks into Words, but never into Blows; and the Reaſon is, becauſe the killing even of a Fly, is, with them, a Crime almoſt inexpiable. If they happen to ſee *Europeans* in a Paſſion, they withdraw for a Day or two, to give them Time to cool, and then make their Addreſs in the moſt obliging Manner.

All the *Indians* in general, and the *Banians* in particular, are unalterable in their Opinion of the Tranſmigration of Souls, which they think, at their Departure out of the Body of Man, are ſent into ſome other Animal, according to the

Merit or Demerit of the Perſon they animated before; but the greateſt of all Bleſſings they reckon for a Soul departed, is, to be infuſed into a Cow, a Creature they honour almoſt to Adoration. Whenever any Beaſt, Inſect, or Bird, is ſeen to frequent their Houſes, they conclude it is animated by the Soul of ſome of their deceaſed Friends or Relations. One *Moradaſh*, a *Banian*, employ'd by the *Engliſh* Brokers, was much afflicted for the Death of his Father, and continually lamented his Loſs, till a large Snake appearing in the Houſe where his Father died, he began to be comforted, conſidering how that Creature ſhould find its Way thither, and concluded it could be no other than the Soul of his departed Father, which applied to him for Relief and Nouriſhment. This wild Notion ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed his Imagination, that he conſtantly paid it a filial Reſpect, appointing a certain daily Allowance of Rice and Milk to be given it. The Snake took up its Lodging in a Hole of the Wall, whence it crept out to devour its Rice and Milk, after which it regularly returned to its own Place, and ſo continued when our Captain was at *Surat*. The ſame Man was no leſs generous to a Parcel of Rats he had in his Houſe, which, being never diſturbed, grew tame and familiar as Cats; and theſe he fancied to harbour the Souls of ſome others of his Relations deceaſed.

Their Tenderneſs for Birds, Beaſts, and even Inſects, is ſo extraordinary, that if they happen to kill the vileſt of Vermin, they think themſelves obliged to make ſome very conſiderable Atonement for the Offence.

Within a Mile of *Surat* is a large Hoſpital maintain'd by the *Banians*, for the keeping of Cows, Horſes, Goats, Dogs, and other Animals, that are diſeaſed, or lame, or decay'd with Age; and when an Ox, or other Beaſt, is worn out with Labour, and unfit for Service, the *Banians* will beg, or, rather than fail, buy it of the *Chriſtian* or *Mahometan* Owner, to be taken Care of in the ſaid Hoſpital, till it dies a natural Death. Near that Hoſpital is another, built for the Preſervation of Bugs, Fleas, and other Vermin, which ſuck human Blood; and therefore, to maintain them with ſuch a Food as is natural, a poor Man is hired to lie on a Bed there for that Purpoſe, to which he is faſt bound, that being provoked by their intolerable Biting, he may not kill any of them, or go away before Morning. Once a Year the *Banians* make a Feaſt for all the Fleas about their Houſes, ſetting down on Tables, or on the Floor, large ſhallow Diſhes, with Milk and Sugar for them. At other Times they extend their Liberality to the Piſmires, walking abroad two or three Miles into the Country, with Bags of Rice under their Arms, and leaving a Handful or two of it at every Ant-Hill they find in their Way.

The *Banians* obſerve ſeveral Faſts; but one more ſolemn than the reſt, when they drink nothing in the Morning but Cow's Piſs, which they fancy cleanſes them from their Sins; however, their Religion obliges them to no other Practices or Obſervances, than what contribute either to Health or Pleaſure, unleſs we reckon their perpetual Abſtinence from Fiſh and Fleſh, which is no Trouble to them, being bred to it from their Infancy; ſo that they have rather an Abhorrence of ſuch Food, than any Deſire to eat it.

The Men love to ſee their Wives go richly dreſs'd. The Love of Women, which is rooted in the Hearts of Men by Nature, is early cheriſhed by the *Banians*, who court, and ſometimes marry their Miſtreſs at ſix or ſeven Years of Age, and cohabit with them at 13 or 14. Their early Acquaintance helps to endear them to each other, being ſometimes bred up together from their Infancy, which perhaps might forward the Eaſineſs with which the *Indian* Women uſed to commit themſelves to the Flames with their dead Huſbands, tho' that is not now tolerated in thoſe Parts where the *Mahometans* prevail. Second Marriages are not allowed the Women; for tho' they are not permitted to burn with their Huſbands, they muſt live in perpetual Widowhood. This is a moſt ſevere Impoſition upon young Maids, whoſe Huſbands happen to die before they had cohabited; for they are comprehended within the Law, and muſt devote themſelves to perpetual Virginity, tho' they loſt their nominal Huſbands at ſix or ſeven Years of Age. The *Banians* allow of Polygamy, as do all the Eaſtern Nations, where Chriſtianity does not prevail. The Women of the *Indian* Race of the *Naires*, think they are excluded Paradiſe, if they happen to die Maids, and therefore never let ſlip an Opportunity of getting a Huſband.

Weddings are kept with great Solemnity; the Bridegroom goes publickly thro' all the Streets, and being come to the Bride's Habitation, they both ſeat themſelves on Chairs, with a Table before them, and joining Hands, the *Brachman* ſtanding by, covers their Heads with a long Veil, which remains ſpread over them for about a Quarter of an Hour, till he has finiſhed his Prayers for their Happineſs, and given them his Benediction; then unlooſing their Hands, and uncovering their Heads, the Ceremony is ended, and there follows much feaſting and rejoicing. When the Huſband and Wife come to cohabit, ſhe is obliged to a dutiful Attendance, and his Behaviour and Language is always kind and obliging.

I cannot, ſays the Captain, omit a pleaſant Contrivance of a *Brachman*, to get his Daughter a Huſband: He wanted a Sum of Money to make up her Portion, in order to marry her to his Mind; and, to extort it from the People, he climb'd up into a Tree, that ſtood juſt without the City-Gate, and there publickly declared, he would never come down, or eat, but ſtarve to Death in that Place, unleſs they would contribute to raiſe the Money he wanted. The tender-hearted ſilly People, who are tender of the Life of an Inſect, abhorred the Thoughts of being any way involved in the Guilt of the Death of a Perſon ſo ſacred as a *Brachman*, and therefore with all Speed raiſed the Sum wanted, which the cunning Knave, coming down, received with great Satisfaction.

The *Banians* name their Children at ten Days old; which Ceremony is thus performed: They call together a Dozen Boys, and put into their Hands a large Sheet ſpread open, and they, ſtanding about in a Ring, bear it from the Ground. The *Brachman*, ſtanding by, puts a Quantity of Rice into the Middle of the Sheet, and places the Infant to be named upon it; the Boys that hold the Sheet, ſhake the Babe and Rice together to and fro, for a Quarter of an Hour, or more; then the Father's Siſter, if he has any, if not, the Father himſelf, names the Child, and ſo it is left for two Months. This Time being expired, they carry him to the Pagod, where they lay Perfumes on his Head, and then he is reckon'd a Member of their Religion.

The Gentiles at *Carwar*, near *Surat*, ſtill retain an antient barbarous Cuſtom, in ſacrificing to the God of Plenty, at the Seaſon when the Corn is coming up. The *Brachmans* then kill a Cock, and make an Oblation of his Blood; at the ſame Time they that are concerned in that helliſh Ceremony, are ſeized with an amazing Horror and Conſternation, their Faces are diſtorted, and they look ghaſtly; their Fleſh quavers, and their Joints tremble; in ſhort, they appear like Perſons poſſeſſed, and they own, that all that Time, the Devil certainly enters, and acquaints them with ſeveral ſtrange Things. After the Sacrifice is over, ſix Men, and as many Women, are appointed to perform a moſt dreadful Ceremony. On each Side of the Backbones of the Men, are ſtuck two Iron Hooks into the Fleſh, by which they are lifted up to the End of a Pole, ſtanding out, like a Gibbet, about 20 Feet high. This Gibbet is faſtened to an Engine with four Wheels, which is drawn along for about a Mile, with the Men hanging on the Tenters all the Way. The Women have Baſons on their Heads, in which are ſix Cups, about the Bigneſs of Tea-Diſhes, one upon another, which being very tottering, the Women are extremely careful how they tread; for if any of the Cups happen to fall, or the Fire is ſhaken out, it is preſent Death to her; but if they can go carefully thro' as far as the Men, they are ſafe, and the Solemnity ceaſes. Notwithſtanding the Tediouſneſs of the Paſſage, and the Jogging of the Carriage on which the Men hang, which one would think ſhould occaſion the Hooks to tare the Fleſh off their Backs, yet will thoſe miſerable Wretches carry Swords in their Hands, and brandiſh them, as it were in Defiance of the Torment they endure.

As ſoon as the ſtormy Seaſon was over, the Captain departed from *Surat*, and ſailed for *Muſcate*, a City in *Arabia Felix*, on the Gulph of *Ormus*, and without that of *Baſora*. Tho' ſeveral Provinces of *Arabia* are little better than Deſarts, being ſcorched up with intolerable Heat; yet the Province

vince of *Oman*, in which *Muſcate* ſtands, is in ſome Places more fertile, breeds a conſiderable Number of Cattle, and affords ſome Corn. However, *Arabia*, as deficient as it is in ſome Particulars, yet makes Amends in others, as producing ſeveral Sorts of delicious Fruit, valuable Spices, and other rich Commodities, as Balſam, Myrrh, Frankincenſe, Caſſia, Manna, Coffee, Dates, Gold, and Pearls, which create a conſiderable Trade to *Perſia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *India*, and *Europe*.

Tho' the City of *Muſcate* lies upon the utmoſt Bounds of the Sun's Progreſs towards the North, yet it is ſcorch'd with more intenſe Heat than many other Places nearer the Line, the barren Ground and high Mountains cauſing a moſt violent Reflection of the Rays of the Sun, and therefore may as properly be reckon'd a Part of the Torrid Zone, as any under the Æquinoctial. It rains there but very ſeldom, and in ſome Parts of *Arabia*, ſcarce twice in a Year; but that Want is ſupplied by the Abundance of Dews, which refreſh the Earth, nouriſh the Herbs, and render the Fruits delicious; and likewiſe, in ſome Places, by the *Raining Tree*, which is continually diſtilling Showers from its Leaves, and plentifully ſupplies the Inhabitants for many Miles round with all the Water they want, inſtead of Rain or Springs, of which they are quite deſtitute. Philoſophers have been greatly at a Loſs to account for this *Phænomenon*; and therefore I ſhall leave the Fact as I find it, upon the Credit of thoſe Travellers, who affirm they have ſeen it.

The Cattle here are fed with Fiſh, whereof they take great Quantities; a large Hole is dug in the Ground, wherein it is laid till it rots; after which they take it up and boil it in large Earthern Pots, and when cool, give it to the Cattle, which are ex-

extraordinary fat with it; and tho' this Food ſeems very unnatural, their Fleſh is very ſavoury.

They eat all Sorts of Fleſh, except Swine, but the Camel is reckoned the greateſt Dainty, and moſt wholeſome. But they eat no Blood; and all Fiſh that have no Scales they abominate.

Their Wheat is very good, but the Quantity but ſmall; and therefore, as the Dates are plentiful, pleaſant, and univerſally admired, they mix them with all their Food, and eat them inſtead of Bread, with Fiſh and Fleſh.

After ſome Stay at *Muſcate*, they ſet Sail for the *Red-Sea*, or *Arabian* Gulph, which runs from 12 Deg. of North Lat. to between 29 and 30, incloſ'd by the Shores of *Arabia* on the Eaſt, and *Ethiopia* on the Weſt. All Ships from *Surat* generally take their Departure in *March*, and arrive at *Mocha* the latter End of *April*, or before the 20th of *May*; about which Time the Winds alter, and obſtruct any more Ships entering that Sea the ſame Year. In their Paſſage, they made the Iſland of *Socotora*, and kept under Cape *Guardafuy*, and along the *Abiſſine* Coaſt, to avoid the ſtrong Currents which ſet along the *Arabian* Shore.

Their next Stretch from the *Red-Sea*, was to the *Cape of Good Hope*, where they arrived in *December* 1702, from whence they made the beſt of their Way for *England*.

The End of VOL. II.

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